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"Deconstructive Reconstruction:
An Institutional Critique
of the Alberta Normal School"

by

Kelvin Anthony Hollihan



A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and
Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

History of Education

Department of Educational Policy Studies

Edmonton, Alberta

Fall, 1995



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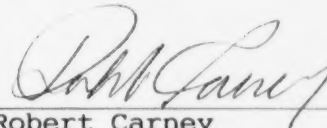
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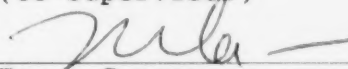
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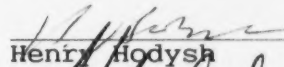
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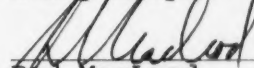
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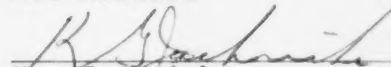
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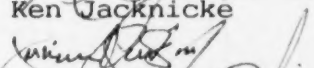
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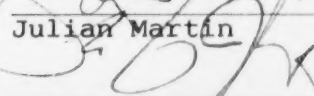
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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work, and all that went into it, to those who mean the most to me, my family: Laureen and Jackson here in Edmonton, and Roslyn, Satch, and Kimberly across the sea in Newfoundland.

I am sure that without them, their unfailing encouragement, their unconditional support and understanding, their simply being there, *none* of this would have been possible.

Thanks...I love you all.

ABSTRACT

This study is a critique of a disciplinary institution: an environment designed to construct in its inmate an identity in harmony with the norms and values it promotes. The critique utilizes a theory of disciplinary power, and a method of deconstructive reconstruction, both concepts informed by the ideas of Michel Foucault and Arnold van Gennep.

Disciplinary power is the milieu of modern life. It consists of forces which seek to structure the actions of the individual in an effort to enhance his or her efficiency. In an institutional context, this end requires the reduction of multiplicities, and the subsequent creation of a common inmate identity. Deconstructive reconstruction is both a process of identity construction, and a method of investigation which allows for a close exploration of that process, and of the identity which emerges when disciplinary power is exercised. The method suggests that of the forces which operate on the individual three are of particular analytical value: the tactics of exposure (separates and reveals), dispersion (enhances dependency), and investiture (creates desire).

The institution critiqued in this study is the Alberta Normal School. The normal school was the most prominent provincial institution for the training of teachers in the first half of the twentieth century. It can be considered a

disciplinary institution because it sought to construct a teacher identity: one who shared the values and knowledges promoted within the normal school.

A central component of this study is the exploration of dissenting voices within normal schools. Not all teachers in training capitulated to institutional demands; deconstructive reconstruction was not always successful. By resisting the structuring demands of disciplinary power, these inmates refused to be encountered as objects, and sought to author their own teacher training experiences.

This is a different type of investigation into teacher training, one not evident in most explorations within Canadian educational historiography. By investigating the internal culture of the normal school, the study allows for a new understanding of the processes which influence the construction of the teacher. Hopefully, such understanding will raise contemporary awareness and influence the way teachers are educated today.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

*Oak Lake to Calgary. Van Horne took off
His coat. The North must wait, for that would mean
His shirt as well. First and immediate
The prairie pledge - five hundred miles, and it
Was winter. Failure of this trial promise
Would mean - no, it must not be there for meaning.*

From "Towards the Last Spike" E.J. Pratt

Van Horne had it easy.

His challenge was merely the construction of the C.P.R. There's no leaving the shirt on in pursuit of a doctorate. As rolled sleeves gave way to bare back, and I edged closer to completing what rests in your hands, I was immeasurably aided by a number of individuals.

I would like to first of all thank my co-supervisors. Bob Carney was there from the start, and though the task occasionally felt as bleak as Van Horne's prairie winter, we managed to weather it. I am grateful for his openness to different directions and approaches. Terry Carson graciously came on board a little later. His reflections have given me cause to consider new and exciting possibilities in educational study.

I would also like to thank Henry Hodysh and Rod McLeod, who filled out my supervisory committee. Henry's door, particularly, was never closed. Though he wasn't connected with this dissertation in any way, I would also like to thank Dave Wangler, a model for all educators.

Then there are my bare-backed buddies, friends who have made this work much more enjoyable than it might otherwise have been: Dave, Steve, Yoke-Sum, and Tim. They ensured failure was indeed never there for meaning.

My family has been influential in countless ways. My parents empowered me to travel this road. Luckily, thankfully, Laureen, my inspiration, travels it with me.

I suppose many more have influenced me, some actually for the better. I didn't leave you out on purpose. Thanks.

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These abbreviations are used in the text footnotes.

ANSA - Alberta Normal School Announcements (from a Private Collection - R.J. Patterson)

CC - Camrose Canadian

CgNSYB - Calgary Normal School Yearbook

CmNSYB - Camrose Normal School Yearbook

ENSYB - Edmonton Normal School Yearbook

EB - Edmonton Bulletin

EJ - Edmonton Journal

NSAR - Normal School Annual Report (from the Department of Education Annual Report)

NSF, PAA - Normal School File, Provincial Archives of Alberta

UAA - University of Alberta Archives.

CHAPTER 1
WHAT IS TO COME

INTRODUCTION

"Man was born free, and yet everywhere he is in chains."¹

A prominent feature of modern society is the disciplinary institution. Whether it is a school, university, penitentiary or factory, the presence of the disciplinary institution intrudes upon virtually every contemporary social horizon. Each of these institutions undoubtedly has a specific function. For example, schools ensure the education of children in necessary skills and desirable attitudes, while penitentiaries operate to punish and reform those who reject unquestionable social convention. However, it may be argued that these divergent functions merely represent the superficial features of such institutions. Indeed, disciplinary institutions are united by a common objective, a shared intention which permeates and defines them. The disciplinary institution seeks to construct the identity of the inmate in a particular way, to discipline him or her.

This identity construction has, at minimum, a dual function. It is attempted in an effort to facilitate the harmonious transition of the inmate into the institution, and, subsequently, society. It also seeks to promote the individual's efficiency within both environments. While the disciplinary institution is not always successful in its attempt to construct identity, it can nevertheless be

¹ Jean Jacques Rousseau, The Social Contract and Discourse on the Origin of Inequality, ed. Lester G. Crocker (1762; reprint ed., New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1967), p.7.

recognized by the effort it makes to do so.

This study is essentially an institutional critique. It ventures to develop a method², named deconstructive reconstruction, in an attempt to understand how disciplinary institutions function to construct identity. Once developed, the method is applied to a specific institution, thereby exploring its appropriateness. While deconstructive reconstruction could be used to analyse institutions of the late twentieth century, an institution from the past, the Alberta normal school, has been chosen. The normal school was a disciplinary institution, for it attempted to construct a specific identity of the individual, that of a teacher.

The choice of an historical institution reflects my interest in history, my desire to use the past to understand in some limited way present conditions within which we exist. Such understanding is of undoubted benefit, for it enhances awareness, and facilitates my ability to make more responsible and effective decisions. Perhaps the choice also represents something of a quest on my part, a small effort to expand the boundaries of traditional historiography. A theoretical approach to an historical topic diverges from a more traditional stream of thought within the discipline of history which suggests that theory applied to historical data is taboo, for it unnecessarily limits objectivity.³ Such an argument implies that the

² When pertaining to deconstructive reconstruction, the descriptor 'method' is used herein in its original sense: *methodos* (Greek), pursuit of knowledge.

³ One of the most eloquent apologists of this approach is G.R. Elton. See his The Practice of History (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1967). In the field of educational history, one might read Charles Phillips, The Development of Education in Canada (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1957). Though Phillips was largely an educational

study of history without theory is somehow less biased than the study of history with it. I am not convinced that either the objection or the implication are valid, and will address both views in what follows.

The normal school, as the historical institution to be examined, has been carefully selected. It reflects both my interest in teacher preparation, and also the paucity of studies completed on what was at one time a very significant institution in Alberta. While today the normal school exists primarily in archives and memory, it is possible that traces of it continue to inform, to define, present conditions of teacher preparation and, similarly, understandings of the teacher. Thus, any analysis of it is necessarily of value. Hopefully, this study presents an opportunity to appreciate the normal school in a considerably new light. As the study is thus also an analysis of an early form of teacher preparation, herein referred to as teacher training, reflection is necessarily given to the value of deconstructive reconstruction in understanding that process. While no major attempt is made to apply the method to current practices of teacher preparation, herein referred to as teacher education, some speculation as to potential implications unearthed by the deconstructive reconstruction and its findings are commented upon.

THE STUDY

Any philosophy...would not only be unconvincing but nonsensical to a person who misunderstood the problem it was meant to

administrator, and his work is not a methodological treatise, his approach demonstrates his sympathy with the perspective of historians like Elton.

solve.⁴

It is quite possible that this study not solve anything, that it simply enhances our awareness of our environment, and our ability to act within it (ends which would suit me). That said, it is not inappropriate that Collingwood's dictum be applied to this study -- that it, in fact, be the point of departure. The scholar's work, perhaps above all, must be convincing and coherent, and this chapter is meant to approach that direction. Chapter One further explores the centring problem of the study, just as it explicates the means by which I seek to understand it. It outlines the general structure of the study, including its need and delimitations.

The study consists of three major components. First, a method is fashioned which allows for an exploration of an institution, of the power which permeates that institution. It is a method based on the theory that disciplinary institutions seek to construct a particular form of individual identity, and, furthermore, that construction of identity, or the attempt thereof, is one manifestation of power within modern society. The method is referred to as deconstructive reconstruction, and it seeks to analyze the processes of identity construction within an institutional environment.

Second, the method is applied to a specific institution, the Alberta normal school. As normal schools no longer exist, having been phased out by 1945, the method utilizes historical evidence. The result is a substantially different interpretation and understanding of this teacher

⁴ R.G. Collingwood, An Autobiography (1939; reprint ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), p.152.

training institution.⁵ While deconstructive reconstruction certainly promotes a specific organization of the historical evidence, it is one which no less critical in its examination of that evidence than are more traditional historical approaches.

Third, the study culminates in a critique. Having been explored as an environment for the exercise of power, the normal school is searched for fractures in that power, for discourses which indicate that its inmates rejected the advances of power, and sought to author their own normal school experience. This component of the study emerges as particularly important: it renders impotent the determinism which potentially accompanies the use of a theoretical approach, and it allows inmates of the institution to emerge as subjects who acted, rather than as objects merely acted upon.

THE METHOD OF DECONSTRUCTIVE RECONSTRUCTION

The fashioning of deconstructive reconstruction was somewhat of a communal effort. The method incorporates and combines some of the ideas of Michel Foucault, a mid to late twentieth century French philosopher/historian, and Arnold van Gennep, an early twentieth century Belgian anthropologist. Particularly important are Foucault's reflections on power, and van Gennep's understanding of

⁵ Existing studies on normal schools in Alberta tend to emphasize chronologies and curriculum. See, for examples, George Mann "Alberta Normal Schools: A Descriptive Study of Their Development, 1905-1945" (University of Alberta: M.Ed. thesis, 1961); and John W. Chalmers, Schools of the Foothills Province: The Story of Public Education in Alberta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), particularly Ch.24 "The Making of a Teacher", pp.407-433.

rites of passage. The various strands of their thought were pulled together and refined in the deconstructive reconstruction method by me, just as it was I who coined the name of the concept as it is used herein. Thus, the method does not reflect the arguments of one individual, though its use and direction in this study can only be claimed to demonstrate my point of view. The reader may consider it as a combination of the ideas of three thinkers, enhanced by the numerous other scholars whose works can be found referenced in the bibliography. Like any intellectual effort, the theory and method which are proposed in this study merely represent one way of approaching the historical evidence; it is not suggested that they represent the only way. It is unlikely that history can approach such certainty.

The reader should be aware that deconstructive reconstruction was not created devoid of the historical data later applied to it in the study. In fact, much of the research was completed prior to even an initial attempt at constructing the method. This is not to imply that I had not read Foucault and van Gennep prior to the data collection. Indeed, the two authors were read before, and during archival excursions, and continue to be read and reflected upon. However, to envision a scenario in which I created a method into which I now seek to insert data which may, or may not be applicable, would be inaccurate.⁶

Essentially, deconstructive reconstruction provides for an institutional critique: it seeks to analyse the operation of power within disciplinary institutions. Such a critique can proceed in two directions, paths which are not

⁶ Even as I complete drafts of this study, I am re-reading, reconsidering and altering aspects of the method of deconstructive reconstruction.

necessarily parallel. It can be undertaken in terms of either exteriority or interiority. Exteriority refers to the relationship of the institution with its environment, while interiority alludes to the internal operations of the institution. For example, exteriority would analyse the means by which the institution serves (and reflects) the milieu in which it operates. Similarly, interiority would examine the culture of the institution, the means by which it functions to construct its inmate. The focus of this study is a critique of the normal school in terms of interiority.

The theoretical foundation of deconstructive reconstruction contends that the function of a disciplinary institution is to construct individual identity through the operation of various tactics, which I have named exposure, dispersion and investiture. The successful application of these tactics, and the victory of power, culminates in an individual who is docile and productive, and who willingly works in efficient harmony within the institution (and, subsequently, society). He or she has come to accept the values and processes promoted by the tactics inherent in the institution, and is thus likely instrumental in their continued promotion after his or her institutional experience. However, the operation of power, its exercise within disciplinary institutions, is not always successful; its imperatives are not so overwhelming that it cannot be resisted. Indeed, it is through individual resistance that the exercise of power is often most visible. Ultimately, such resistance generally indicates the failure of power.

The disciplinary institution is merely one manifestation of power within society. However, the concreteness of the institution permits a singular degree of analysis. The tactics employed in the institution, usually quite visible, combine in a calculated attack upon

the individual, the site of conflict. The efficacy of the tactics used are often enhanced by their ritualization, a crystallizing process which guards against the germination of scepticism, and promotes the unfettered expansion of power.

The first tactic, exposure, establishes the context essential for the successful application of the subsequent tactics of dispersion and investiture. Exposure includes architectural elements and other divisive experiences which separate the individual from any previous environment. Simultaneously, the tactic expedites an exhibition of the inmate; it seeks to ensure that the inmate is under a constant gaze which both allows for and promotes a knowledge of him or her in the most intimate of details. The tactic makes a knowledge of the inmate possible.

The second tactic, dispersion, is a deconstructive process which rests substantially on relationships of dependency within the institution. The tactic places the inmate in (often) disorientating situations which heightens anxieties and fosters a reliance on the institutional authorities. Through this means, dispersion cultivates insecurity in the inmate, thereby engendering attitudes of faith, and responses of trust, in the authority figures. Dependency also acts to objectify and alienate the inmate. Ultimately, the function of dispersion is to enhance efforts to manipulate the inmate's identity, by creating in him or her a state of mind receptive to the values advocated within the institution.

The third tactic, investiture, operates on the disoriented inmate in an attempt to transform his or her receptivity into a willingness to conform to institutional demands. In fact, this tactic is most successful when this will becomes a desire, when the inmate not merely needs to act in a certain way, but wants to. Investiture uses this

desire in an effort to draw the inmate closer to the promoted identity, the value and appropriateness of which is established by certain pre-determined norms. These norms are defined in terms of otherness; their validity rests substantially on external verification, on the degree to which the content the norm represents is appreciated and accepted by others (primarily the institutional authorities). When successful, investiture is inherently productive. It creates the desiring subject, the individual who acts in what are perceived to be his or her own best interests. It also creates a reconstructed identity, one which exists in harmony with institutional demands. Investiture emerges as fundamentally reconciliatory and incorporative, particularly as it addresses problems of alienation. It attempts to ensure that the inmate is ultimately unified with his or her environment within the institution, and with his or her self. When effective, investiture promotes the acceptance of the reconstructed identity as the individual's own.

Succinctly, then (and, perhaps even a little too simplistically), power is the why, exposure is the where, and dispersion and investiture are the how and the what of identity construction within a disciplinary institution.

As a method, deconstructive reconstruction has its potential limitations, hazards indigenous to any heuristic device. Certainly, I must be ever vigilant to guard against determinism, over-generalization, and other such scholarly sloppiness. I must also ensure the method properly addresses historical context. A theoretical method, however, also presents certain advantages. It allows me to be honest and forthright about the way in which the historical data will be applied. It thus facilitates the illumination and regulation of my biases. It strengthens the critical relationship between me, as the historian, and

the reader. It both enhances the reader's awareness of the limitations of the historian, and also promotes the historian's responsibility to the reader. As long as I maintain an intellectual honesty, and engage in constant (self) criticism, concern as to the (historical) appropriateness of the use of a theoretical method should be limited.

Other efforts may be made to ensure the authenticity between the reader and the historian. This singular relationship is enhanced by adjusting the traditional historical approach which presents the historian's narrative to the reader as if it was a seamless and flawless re-telling of events. The skills of the tailor must be exposed for what they are: artificial manipulation of the material with which he or she works. Substantial evidence must be presented to the reader which will allow him or her to determine the probability of my historical interpretation. The reader must have meaningful access to the same material I interpret. The exorcism of (too often blind) faith in this relationship must be achieved to allow the reader to determine for his or her self, if desired, the suitability of an interpretation.

I am unaware of any author who has connected the ideas of Foucault and van Gennep in a fashion as attempted by deconstructive reconstruction. Bell, however, has written on the relationship between Foucault and ritual.⁷ Various authors have reflected and written on either Foucault or van Gennep. Merquior⁸, Cooper⁹, and Miller¹⁰ have each

⁷ Catherine Bell, The Ritual Process (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

⁸ J.G. Merquior, Foucault (1985; reprint ed., London: Fontana Press, 1991).

written general studies on Foucault's proposals. Merquior presents a criticism of Foucault's oeuvre, while Miller's analysis emerges in the form of an illuminating biography. One could turn to Turner¹¹, Lewis¹², or Leemon¹³ for thoughts on rites of passage and ritual. Turner, especially, has extensively developed the notion of liminality (the transitional rituals in the rites of passage) inherent in van Gennep's work. Some authors have united Foucault's ideas with education; one can consult Curtis¹⁴, Hoskins¹⁵, or Ryan¹⁶ as examples. Similarly, one might read Carney and Hodysh¹⁷, Hale and Starratt¹⁸, or White¹⁹ to see how scholars

⁹ Barry Cooper, Michel Foucault: An Introduction to the Study of His Thought (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1981).

¹⁰ James Miller, The Passion of Michel Foucault (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993).

¹¹ Victor Turner, The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969).

¹² Gilbert Lewis, Day of Shining Red: An essay on understanding ritual (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

¹³ Thomas A. Leemon, The Rites of Passage in a Student Culture: A Study of the Dynamics of Transition (New York: Teachers College Press, 1972).

¹⁴ Bruce Curtis, Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871 (London: The Althouse Press, 1988).

¹⁵ Keith Hoskins, "The Examination, Disciplinary Power and Rational Schooling," History of Education 8:2 (June 1979).

¹⁶ James Ryan, "Observing and Normalizing: Foucault, Discipline and Inequality in Schooling," The Journal of Educational Thought 25:2 (August 1991).

¹⁷ Robert J. Carney and Henry W. Hodysh, "History of Education and the Rite of Passage to Teaching: The Alberta Experience 1893-1945," The Alberta Journal of Educational

have linked the ideas of van Gennep with teacher education.

On my methodological choice to explore history via the use of theory, one may consult any of a variety of scholars who have addressed the idea and function of history. Good overviews of various interpretations of history over the past century are provided by both Marwick²⁰ and Tosh.²¹ Jenkins²² and Gross²³ address the implications for, and value of, history in an age increasingly characterized by post-modern considerations. On the question of objectivity in history, one may read Carr,²⁴ a relativist, or Elton²⁵, a defender of the more orthodox position of detached objectivity. A most comprehensive analysis of the modulations of historians' views on objectivity over the

Research XL:1 (March, 1994).

¹⁸ Lorraine Hale and Robert J. Starratt, "Rites of Passage: A Case Study of Teacher Preparation," Journal of Educational Administration 27:3 (1989).

¹⁹ Jane J. White, "Student Teaching as Rite of Passage," Anthropology and Education Quarterly 20:3 (September, 1989).

²⁰ Arthur Marwick, The Nature of History (1970; 3rd ed., Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1984).

²¹ John Tosh, The Pursuit of History (1984; reprint ed., New York: Longman, 1991).

²² Keith Jenkins, Re-thinking History (London: Routledge, 1991).

²³ David Gross, The Past in Ruins: Tradition and the Critique of Modernity (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1992).

²⁴ E.H. Carr, What is History? (1961; reprint ed., London: Penguin Books, 1984).

²⁵ Elton, The Practice of History.

past century or so is provided by Novick.²⁶

AN INSTITUTIONAL CRITIQUE: THE ALBERTA NORMAL SCHOOL

The second stage of the study is the application of the method of deconstructive reconstruction to a specific disciplinary institution, in this case, within an historical context. Data garnered from an investigation of teacher training in normal schools in the province of Alberta is utilized. For approximately half a century (1905-1945) in Alberta, the predominant process of preparing teachers was referred to as teacher training, and was carried out in institutions called normal schools.²⁷

²⁶ Peter Novick, That Noble Dream: the "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

²⁷ There was an alternative route, via the University of Alberta (UofA), which prospective teachers could take. However, it was neither open to all, nor open at all until the third decade of the twentieth century. By 1911, the UofA offered courses in the history and philosophy of education to its students, but students taking these courses (even if were granted a degree) still had to attend normal school to obtain a teaching certificate.

Though various groups were anxious to establish a Faculty of Education at the UofA as early as World War I, it was not until 1928, when a School of Education was established. Directed by M.E. Lazerte, this program was designed specifically for the preparation of high school teachers. Such individuals completed a baccalaureate, and then continued on for a further one year period of teacher education, with a strong emphasis on theory.

By 1942, the Alberta government accepted the recommendation of a Survey Committee it had appointed, and granted the recently renamed College of Education (1939) faculty status. In 1944, the UofA Board of Governors approved a memorandum of agreement between the UofA and the provincial government, which stated that all teacher preparation in the province was to be the responsibility of the new Faculty of Education (UofA). The following year, all teacher education programs in Alberta were delivered by

During these years, teacher training programs fluctuated between four and nine months in length, and consisted of various components, including both academic and professional courses. The programs were offered in three normal schools, in Calgary, Camrose, and Edmonton. Each normal school fell under the general auspices of the Department of Education. The Calgary Normal School (1906-1944) was the first to be established, and operated for the longest period of time. The Camrose Normal School (1912-1937) was the second to be opened. Its primary function was to train teachers for a rural teaching career. The Edmonton Normal School (1921-1922; 1928-1933; 1935-1944) had a fractured existence, operating at different times throughout the forty year period. In its latter years, it generally trained only those students with high academic qualifications.²⁸

These chronological periods are further narrowed by the fact that the physical institution of the normal school was not always the locale for teacher training. For

the UofA; students registered in the Faculty of Education, and, those successful graduated with the new Bachelor of Education degree. The normal schools had been replaced.

For further information see R.J. Carney and H.W. Hodysh, "History of Education and the Rite of Passage to Teaching: The Alberta Experience 1893-1945," The Alberta Journal of Educational Research XL, No.1 (March, 1994); John Chalmers, Schools of the Foothills Province: The Story of Public Education in Alberta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967); George H. Buck, "Faculty of Education, University of Alberta: A Thirty Year Gestation" Alberta Journal of Education Research XXXIX:3 (September, 1993); and Walter H. Johns, A History of the University of Alberta, 1908-1969 (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1981).

²⁸ After the Edmonton Normal School re-opened in 1935 G.S. Lord, the Principal, indicated that enrollment was limited to students seeking first class certificates. NSAR, 1935, p.36.

example, teachers had to be trained while the institutions were being built. And again, during World War II, when building space was at a premium, normal school operations were required to re-locate. As this study is an institutional critique in which normal school buildings figure prominently, the study focuses on the years during which teacher training actually occurred within the normal school. For the Calgary Normal School, this includes the years 1908 to 1940; for the Camrose Normal School, 1914 to 1937; and for the Edmonton Normal School, 1930 to 1933 and 1935 to 1941.

The testing of the method, the institutional critique itself, is essentially an analysis of interiority (a process elaborated upon in Chapters Three and Four). The presence of the tactics is first demonstrated; their exercise is subsequently explored. Certainly it is difficult to gauge the efficacy of the operation of the tactics, particularly given the possibility that external conformity disguised internal rejection.²⁹ Ultimately, however, resistance unmanifested, conformity to institutional norms, might best be considered as the victory of power -- even though it may well have been a strategy chosen by the inmate in his or her attempt to cope with the exercise of power.

The tactic of exposure is analysed by examining the normal schools as a physical apparatus which facilitated the separation and exhibition of the individual. The tactic of dispersion is investigated by studying the technologies exercised on the individual to enhance his or her confusion

²⁹ Carlo Ginzberg discusses such a problem in The Cheese and the Worms, trans. by John and Anne Tedeschi (1976; reprint ed., Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1980), pp.98-102. I further address the issue in the conclusion.

and dependency, and subsequently to facilitate his or her deconstruction. Finally, the tactic of investiture is considered. The efforts by which the institution sought to reconstruct the individual's identity, with his or her support, so that it consisted of an inventory deemed desirable for that of a teacher, are explored.³⁰

The presentation of the historical component of this study is somewhat novel. The reasons for this have been indicated, and are further elaborated upon in the autobiographical component of the next chapter. The historical study of the normal school presents the reader with substantial primary evidence, clearly differentiated from my interpretation by a contrasting font. Excerpts from primary documents are italicized, while my comments and linking of those documents are in standard font.³¹ In an attempt to give the reader meaningful access to primary sources, documents are numerous and often quoted at considerable length. Of course, in no way does this approach circumvent the problem of objectivity in historical interpretation, or the authority which the discipline invests in the historian. However, it does represent an attempt to be candid with the reader. He or she is given the opportunity to read both interpretation and documentation, and, in some limited way, to construct

³⁰ The use of the term inventory in the study is virtually synonymous with the term identity. It refers to the characteristics, attitudes, behaviours, and, in fact, all the knowledges deemed appropriate and necessary (by institutional authorities) for the properly trained teacher.

³¹ Titles, such as the *Camrose Canadian*, are in bold font.

his or her own story as desired.³²

While the sources for the investigation are limited, they are rich enough to test the method. The most prominent sources are the **Normal School Reports** found in the Annual Reports of the Department of Education, and the various **Normal School Files** deposited in the Provincial Archives of Alberta. The **Normal School Reports** are essentially a yearly overview of the activities of each normal school, and a general progress report thereof as determined by the respective principal. Often these reports are quite detailed. The **Normal School Files** are primarily, though not exclusively, correspondence between normal school principals, and occasionally staff, and the Department of Education. Yearbooks, which give invaluable and extensive voice to the normalites, and medical reports are also prominent in the files of the Provincial Archives. Other archives have less valuable materials. The Edmonton Normal School was integrated with the University of Alberta, and the University Archives have some documents, particularly invaluable architectural blueprints. The Glenbow Archives in Calgary has some material on individuals who received their teacher training at a normal school, but it has nothing specifically on teacher training in the normal schools. Newspapers, especially the **Camrose Canadian** with its fairly regular column "Normal School Notes", are also valuable resources.

Secondary sources are quite limited on this topic. Patterson³³ and Mann³⁴ have produced the most detailed

³² I realize, of course, that there is also an element of interpretation invested in the primary sources. After all, I have chosen them to explicate my theory.

³³ Robert Patterson, "History of Teacher Education in Alberta," in Shaping the Schools of the Canadian West, eds. David Jones et al (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited,

studies on teacher training in Alberta. A more recent article has been written by Carney and Hodysh.³⁵ The most appropriate function of the secondary sources is for background. They allow for a richer understanding of the Alberta context, both general and educational, during the period under study. Particularly valuable for educational background are Chalmers' two volume analysis of schools and teachers³⁶, Hodgson's comprehensive overview³⁷, and two educational biographies, one by Oviatt³⁸, and the other by Wilson.³⁹ For general Alberta background one could turn to Jones⁴⁰, or Palmer and Palmer.⁴¹ A wide-ranging survey of

1979), pp.192-207.

³⁴ George Mann, "Alberta Normal Schools: A Descriptive Study of Their Development, 1905-1945" (University of Alberta: M.Ed. thesis, 1961).

³⁵ Carney and Hodysh, "History of Education and the Rite of Passage to Teaching".

³⁶ John Chalmers, Schools of the Foothills Province: The Story of Public Education in Alberta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967); and Teachers of the Foothills Province: The Story of The Alberta Teachers' Association (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968).

³⁷ Ernest D. Hodgson "The Nature and Purpose of the Public School in the Northwest Territories (1885-1905) and Alberta (1905-1963)," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1964).

³⁸ Patricia Oviatt, "The Educational Contributions of H.C. Newland" (University of Alberta: M.Ed. thesis, 1970).

³⁹ Leroy Wilson, "Perren Baker and the United Farmers of Alberta - Educational Principles and Policies of an Agrarian Government" (University of Alberta: M.Ed. thesis, 1970).

⁴⁰ David Jones, Empire of Dust: Settling and Abandoning the Prairie Dry Belt (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1987).

the prairie context is provided by Friesen.⁴² A valuable analysis of the Canadian educational scene has been produced by Tomkins.⁴³ One may consult Brown and Cook⁴⁴, or Finkel, Conrad, and Strong-Boag⁴⁵ for contemporary and general Canadian background.

CRITIQUE

The third component of the study explores the limitations of institutional power. Essentially, it is designed to illustrate the shortcomings of the method of deconstructive reconstruction, and the theory of power which underlies it. This is achieved by demonstrating that despite all efforts to reconstruct the inmate's identity via a carefully regulated environment, the exercise of institutional power was not always successful.

An exploration of institutional power would be incomplete, indeed misleading, were it only to explore its successful operation. It is also necessary, nay, perhaps more important, to expose how it failed. Thus, a search is undertaken for cracks which may belie the singular

⁴¹ Howard Palmer and Tamara Palmer, Alberta, A New History (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers Ltd., 1990).

⁴² Gerald Friesen, The Canadian Prairies: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984).

⁴³ George S. Tomkins, A Common Countenance: Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada, Inc., 1986).

⁴⁴ Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971).

⁴⁵ Alvin Finkel, Margaret Conrad, and Veronica Strong-Boag, History of the Canadian Peoples: Volume II, 1876 to the present (Mississauga: Copp Clark Pittman Ltd., 1993).

certainty which institutional power sought to ensure. The knowledge gleaned from such an investigation is at least as emancipatory as an examination of the process. While an analysis of the successful operation of power is of value because it sharpens our understanding of its workings, an exploration of its failings suggests the feasibility of resistance. The critique allows us to move from possibility and contemplation to action.

The study concludes with an evaluation of deconstructive reconstruction in terms of its ability to promote our awareness of the factors involved in the construction of teacher identity. While this study does not apply deconstructive reconstruction to present-day practices of teacher preparation in any detailed or specific manner, some speculation on the suitability of the model for enhancing our insight into contemporary practices of teacher education is engaged in.

While discourse which indicates normalite resistance to the exercise of power is, by nature, difficult to uncover, there are various invaluable sources.⁴⁶ These include the normal school yearbooks, and the column in the *Camrose Canadian*, "Normal School Notes". Occasionally, information also surfaces in the Normal School File, found at the Provincial Archives of Alberta.

NEED FOR THE STUDY

There are essentially three reasons why I have decided to pursue this topic. They are not presented in any order of importance.

⁴⁶ For resistances to remain effective, it was undoubtedly best that normalites reveal as little as possible about the specifics of their actions. This issue is further explored in Chapter Eight.

First, renewed interest in teacher education has placed the process under increased scrutiny. The distress of the Alberta Government about current educational programs is demonstrated in its Vision for the Nineties document, and its follow-up, Achieving the Vision 1991 Report⁴⁷. At the 1993 Annual Representative Assembly of the Alberta Teachers' Association, resolutions calling for an examination of the effectiveness of teacher training programs in Alberta were passed.⁴⁸ The Alberta Chamber of Resources speculated recently that Alberta's performance in an increasingly international world will be impaired unless teachers are more adequately educated in the maths and sciences.⁴⁹ The University of Alberta has registered its concern in its lately published Quality First document, which proposes rather dramatic changes in both the structure and the content of the teacher education programs it offers.⁵⁰ While such criticisms cannot be divorced from the agenda of those voicing them, as a whole they indicate that there is a certain degree of dissatisfaction with, and uncertainty about, the education of teachers. An historical

⁴⁷ The first document indicates that individuals in the government believe teacher effectiveness is inadequate, while the second document ranks "Excellence in Teaching" at 60% (which stood as 'Good', 100% being 'Excellent'), on the basis of a public poll. Alberta Education, Vision for the Nineties...a plan of action (Edmonton: Department of Education, 1991), p.22; and Alberta Education, Achieving the Vision 1991 Report (Edmonton: Department of Education, 1992), p.35 and enclosure.

⁴⁸ The A.T.A. News, 23 April, 1993.

⁴⁹ Alberta Chamber of Resources, and Alberta Education, International Comparisons in Education -- Curriculum, Values and Lessons (Edmonton: Alberta Chamber of Resources, 1992), pp.46-8.

⁵⁰ University of Alberta, Quality First (Edmonton: 1994), pp.11-13.

study of teacher preparation can perhaps illuminate both the dissatisfaction and the uncertainty.

Second, any study which critiques a disciplinary institution is of immediate value. Disciplinary institutions are both the foundation and expression of modern society. It is imperative that our understanding of them be enhanced. Also, I have a particular interest in disciplinary institutions, as is noted in the autobiographical component of the next chapter. It is important to me, at an intimate, personal level to understand those institutions which have been so significant in my life.

Finally, this study contends that the disciplinary institution, the normal school in this case, was a manifestation of power in modern society. Any study which facilitates our understanding of the operation of power is of intrinsic value. If power is indeed an omnipresent force which seeks to destroy authentic individuality and replace it with a fictitious one, then it is of concern to all. The ability of power to alienate, and to mask the consequences of that alienation, must be addressed. The more that is known about the operation of power, the greater is the likelihood that it can be engaged and resisted.

STATEMENT OF THE GENERAL PROBLEM

This study seeks to achieve an institutional critique of the Alberta normal school. To do so, it utilizes deconstructive reconstruction, a method which promotes an analysis of identity construction within that institution.

DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

To avoid confusion, it is important the reader realize

that this study does not attempt to achieve certain ends, as are indicated below.

It is not a study which attempts to explain the totality of the development of teacher training in Alberta. For example, it is not a chronological study highlighting key events, which would simply be a repetition of Mann's thesis. Rather, it focuses on certain pre-determined areas (primarily those which illuminate the tactics of deconstructive reconstruction) which facilitate an institutional critique.

The concern of this study is the building of a method, the testing of that method, and a subsequent evaluation of those processes. It therefore neither is, nor attempts to be, an historical study in the traditional narrative sense.

The study generally concentrates on the internal operations of the normal school. It does not seek to explore, in any systematic manner, the broader community of which the institution was part.

Some of the ideas of Michel Foucault and Arnold van Gennep are utilized in this study. However, the study does not seek to explicate the entirety of their theories, but only the portions which are deemed by the author to be relevant herein. Similarly, it should not be implied that the author agrees with everything Foucault and van Gennep suggest.

This is a study which, among others things, seeks to illuminate the preparation of teachers. However, it will not be applied in any intensive or systematic way to the teacher education of today, though some linking comments are made in the conclusion. This is necessary, for, to be of value, history must demonstrate its practical relevance to the present; it must enhance our understanding of contemporary conditions.

There will be no attempt to judge the long term impact

of the normal school on the teacher's identity. It would require another study to determine whether the identity was maintained by the teacher once in the public or private school environments, divorced from the institution.

The reader has been introduced to the study, to what it hopes to achieve, and to what it does not address. However, for the reader to truly understand what is attempted in this study, his or her awareness of the author's presuppositions need be enhanced. Similarly, the reader must be informed that the method of deconstructive reconstruction is informed by theories (particularly those of Michel Foucault) which some would challenge as dubious. Thus, the next chapter, which addresses both these issues, represents an effort on my part to strengthen the relationship between reader and author, and allow him or her to be more critical of the arguments which follow.

CHAPTER 2
ME AND FOUCAULT

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY?

...in reality it is [the historian] who
constructs facts without even realizing it.
Lucien Febvre¹

In every philosophy there is a point at which
the philosopher's 'conviction' appears on the
scene....

Friedrich Nietzsche²

The historian (unless he or she is too
troubled by deep philosophical doubt; most
historians are not) will believe that he or
she is being as true as is humanly possible
to the past as it actually happened.

Arthur Marwick³

An inescapable reality of writing is that the author
emerges in his or her words; the text is never neutral. The
reader should be aware of this partiality, of how the
author may influence the interpretation. To enhance the
critical association between historian and reader, it is
desirable that I situate myself in relation to my study,
that I explore my perspective and what may influence it.

My experience suggests that historians rarely situate
themselves in their historical pursuit; little
consideration is given to their relationship with what they

¹ Peter Burke, ed., A new kind of history from the
writings of Febvre, trans. by K. Folca (London: Routledge &
Kegan Paul Ltd., 1973), p.36.

² Friedrich Nietzsche, Beyond Good and Evil, trans. by
R.J. Hollingdale (1886; reprint ed., London: Penguin Group,
1973), p.20.

³ Arthur Marwick, The Nature of History, p.10.

are studying. Perhaps this assertion is excessively harsh. Many historians may well indeed exercise such self-exploratory efforts. However, it is an activity which is seldom shared with their readers. Why should it be? Historical thought is traditionally rooted in self-abnegation, in the removal of the individual from the pursuit. I believe this to be a failing.

The historian cannot merely be erased from his or her history.⁴ Similarly, then, this study is not merely a product of historical thought, but of me: I am in the history. By reflecting on who I am, I hope to facilitate the reader's ability to be critical of my interpretation of the historical evidence, to make him or her responsible to comment on the validity of my conclusions. I want to enhance the essential participatory relationship between the reader and myself.⁵ Furthermore, self-awareness allows me to discern my biases, thereby facilitating a more open relationship between myself and those traces of the past which I explore.

Undoubtedly, there is a self-abnegating imperative within the discipline of history, presumably designed to enhance objectivity. The historian's training seeks to reduce the individual as a factor in historical analysis. The bias-taming methods expounded upon by traditionalists

⁴ Fernand Braudel, for one, holds this view. See his On History (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), pp.8, 66. E.H. Carr has a similar perspective. What is History? (1961; reprint ed., London: Penguin Books, 1987), p.30.

⁵ Arthur Marwick elaborates on the idea of history as a participatory activity, a dialogue between historian and reader. See The Nature of History, p.24.

have long been practiced.⁶ Yet, historiographies reveal a discipline which development is cluttered and disfigured by heterogeneous interpretations which today are characterized as representing an age, or an ideology, or a perspective, or anything but the historical reality which such historians believed they were capturing. Despite what they conceived to be their neutral efforts, in their finished product the reader discovers more about them and their era than their topics. Why? I suspect it is because they neglected to reflect on the historical relationship, and that they were taught the dubious canons that biases (i.e. the individual) could be removed, and definitive histories could be written. They cannot.

History is a relationship whereby the historian -- the person -- is as relevant as the topic interpreted. A rather lengthy quote from Carr is fruitful.

...the reader in his turn must re-enact what goes on in the mind of the historian. Study the historian before you begin to study the facts. That is, after all, not very abstruse. It is what is already done by the intelligent undergraduate who, when recommended to read a

⁶ The most lucid statement of this school comes from the prominent historian G.R. Elton. He suggests that the historian's immersion in, and thorough criticism of, the documents, and an imaginative reconstruction based on probability and scholarship removes any "confusion between the event and the meaning it acquires in the reconstruction attempted by the historian." The Practice of History, p.57. Elton argues elsewhere that the historian must, above all else, be a sceptic. It is with such an approach "that the historian's proper function and true service enter: possessed of intellectual freedom he must resist the imposition of intellectual dictatorship and its social consequences." The historian is privileged to be able to critique other ways of understanding. Elton, "The Historian's Social Function," in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Series, Vol.27 (London: University College, 1976), p.209. It is Elton's view that objectivity and scepticism are mutually supportive.

work by the great scholar of St. Jude's, goes round to a friend at St. Jude's to ask what sort of chap Jones is, and what bees he has in his bonnet. When you read a work of history, always listen out for the buzzing. If you can detect none, either you are tone deaf or the historian is a dull dog. The facts are really not at all like fish on the fishmonger's slab. They are like fish swimming about in a vast and sometimes inaccessible ocean; and what the historian catches will depend, partly on chance, but mainly on what part of the ocean he chooses to fish in and what tackle he chooses to use -- these two factors being, of course, determined by the kind of fish he wants to catch. By and large, the historian will get the kind of fish he wants to catch. History means interpretation.⁷

Questionable is the product of a historian who has neglected to reflect upon his or her personal buzzing. Naive, or arrogant, is the historian who does not hear the buzzing, or assumes it to be the same bees which torment others. It is paramount that the historian seek out the buzzing, share his favourite gully, and reveal his chosen tackle.

WHO AM I, THE HISTORIAN?

I am a Newfoundlander. I see the island as insulated, oral and visual. Perhaps the former explains my often conservative perspectives, and the latter two illuminate the means by which I try and communicate them in my written work. Having travelled extensively, the insulation has thinned. I still believe that writing should approach the oral word, and that its effectiveness is enhanced when people can visualize what they read.

⁷ Carr, What is History, p.23.

After entering Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN), my initial major was Canadian Studies. This program introduced me to the concept of interdisciplinary understanding, which germinated in a belief that meaning is located within no one discipline. The majority of the courses I took were history, but a considerable number were English literature. I wonder now (did I then?) if the search for meaning, for understandings, within fiction is any different than the search within the archive/document.

Interests change, and I left MUN with a Bachelor of Arts (Honours) in History. Though little inspired by labour history, I completed a thesis on riots in Newfoundland in the depressed 1930's. Marxist theory was popular within the Department of History, but it did not appeal to me, and my study was essentially narrative.

Apparently unmarketable, I decided to pursue a Master of Arts in History, at the University of Alberta (UofA). I explored the immigration policy of Frank Oliver, Canadian Minister of the Interior in the early twentieth century. There was nothing adventurous about my methodology. It was, again, a narrative, in which (I believed) the meaning emerged purely from the researched data.

As I reflect on my M.A. experience, I consider that its primary function was to discipline, to assimilate into the discipline; successful, its impact was rather subterranean. However, two courses did leave visible traces. One introduced me to the structural configurations of university education, the inexplicable hoops with which students must contend. It also made me aware of the isolating/isolated world of academia. The other course was the single theory course the department required M.A. students to take. My memory of it undoubtedly reflects the professor's dislike of theory. It was an attitude to theory which differentiated the approaches to history evident at

MUN and at the UofA.

Prior to the completion of my M.A., I had started a Bachelor of Education (AfterDegree), seeing in it economic security. Some courses in the education program were unchallenging: content-void courses were riddled with anecdotes, and inconsequential matters determined grades. And, if anything, the M.A. had taught me the overriding importance of content; it was a training which, to some extent, warped my view as to what education should be. There were also, however, invigorating courses, with instructors who were authentic in their desire to understand and promote education. There were even spaces for individual expression, which (in my experience) was often marginalized in the study of history.

Upon completion of my B.Ed. (AD), I spent some limited time teaching, but the essence of teaching continued to escape me. Confronted with the uncertainty of my future, I again decided to return to university. What to study? My experience in the Department of History, and my desire to transcend the past, blocked that choice. I settled on my only other option, the Department of Educational Foundations. I was accepted into the program partly on the basis of a proposal which was not historical: I wanted to do something of greater practical value.

My first year in the program was characterized by a degree of confusion. I found myself slipping back into history, uncertain. I was teaching a university course, and found myself relying substantially on memory-oriented content, which I had an uneasy sense was inappropriate. The course was supported by techniques of evaluation which merely seemed to validate the content. Did this reflect the lessons of my education?

Soon, the first set of comprehensive examinations was completed. Though feedback was limited, as it often is in

graduate studies, I did receive one unfavourable response. Ironically, another professor asked me to co-author an article, on the same topic. Such divergent opinions on the part of the instructors convinced me that there was no such thing as a correct answer. I continued on, soon completing my candidacy, which I found to be rather anti-climactic, and, in fact, of much more value than implied by its dubious and shrouded character.

I recently completed teaching a course in pre-confederation Canadian history for the University of Athabasca. A few students had difficulty with writing skills. Did this inability to communicate in university currency result in the marginalization of their knowledge, their being? I hope not, for such negation is the antithesis of education.

Presently I am writing a theoretical study, which reflects a desire to do something of contemporary utility. I face certain resistances which I suspected awaited, but, yet, for which I was ill prepared. Strategically revising, I keep on.

HOW AM I AN HISTORIAN?

There is nothing more difficult than to become critically aware of the presuppositions of one's thought. Everything can be seen directly except the eye through which we see. Every thought can be scrutinized directly except the thought by which we scrutinize. A special effort, an effort of self-awareness, is needed -- that almost impossible feat of thought recoiling upon itself: almost impossible but not quite.

E.F. Schumacher⁸

⁸ E.F. Schumacher, A Guide for the Perplexed (London: Jonathon Cape Limited, 1977), p.54.

What is your idea of history?

Lucien Febvre warns against defining history "Because any definition is a prison."⁹ Rather than construct a cage, I will begin by reflecting on two disturbing aspects of history as I see it usually conceived/practiced: the idea of the historian's neutrality, and the production of shared identity. These act to circumscribe the efficacy of history as a tool for understanding.

The idea/goal of the historian's neutrality emerged primarily from the nineteenth century Rankean directive, usually understood as showing the past 'as it really was'. This approach promoted the respectability of history by placing it in an increasingly popular scientific tradition; rooted in objectivity, historical understanding became tied to scientific understanding. This union has resulted in the presentation and teaching of history, as a discipline, as a function of removing the individual from the study.¹⁰ One must be sceptical of, guarded against, a discipline which authority rests on such elimination. To believe that the probability of plausibility is so enhanced merely indicates the marginalization of the individual in the modern world, and by the forms of knowledge which support it. It is dangerous for disciplines, mere manifestations of understanding, to define perception. Such definition, and its accompanying assimilation, will, of course, eliminate (the need for) history.

Secondly, history has been preoccupied with the creation of identity. The supposed neutrality of the

⁹ Burke, A new kind of history, p.31.

¹⁰ This contention emerges from experiences in my historical training. It can also be seen in the product of historical work: how often is any part of such a work written in the first person?

discipline endows the product of historical practice with a certain authority. The credibility of the product is further enhanced by the practices and qualifications of the historian, and by the environment in which he or she writes, generally the university. These factors encourage readers to unreflectively accept the truth of the product. This can result in history being used to cultivate a shared consciousness: historians creating a version of the past that people can accept as their own.¹¹ In such a form, history seeks to consolidate, to integrate, to hegemonize. Controlling the reader's past enhances efforts to direct his or her future, a dangerous practice.

What, then, should be the function of history?

History is not about negation; the self must define history. In other words, history should be a tool which helps the writer and reader to see/understand his or her own story, rather than to force him or her into another's story. Thus, history demands and promotes an intensified understanding of self. As history is revealed as a product of human effort, of a person rather than a discipline, its accessibility is enhanced.

History which can further our understanding of ourselves and the conditions within which we exist must be concerned with destroying identity creating efforts which seek to mask or structure the realities of everyday life. History must analyze the how of existence, and suggest

¹¹ Two examples are Donald Creighton's Empire of the St. Lawrence (Toronto: Macmillan, 1956), and C.E. Phillips' The Development of Education in Canada. Creighton develops his Laurentian thesis to explain the development of Canada, and the dominance of central Canada, while Phillips extols the virtues of public education, and castigates the impeding effect of other forms (i.e. separate) of education.

approaches to dealing with existence. These are the functions of the engaged historian.

Valuable historical activity is that which materially benefits the reader in his or her construction of the self. While such activity might be achieved in various ways, a particularly effective approach would be to give voice to past resistances which emerge to singularly and starkly defy efforts to create homogenizing traditions. As Paul Gross suggests, the function of history is to "destroy the present's hold on the past"¹², to ensure that the manipulation of history does not become restrictive and defining.

History should not seek to reassure, to consolidate, to promote arrogance born of certainty. To be truly effective, history should rupture and cleave. It should be a process rather than a result, a means rather than an end. It should be a blueprint for action. History should explicate the human condition. It can do that, and if it does not, then it is not being fully exploited.

Why have you settled on a theoretical approach to explicate your historical topic?

It is ironic, actually. I have never really been drawn to considerations of theory.

I should begin by sharing my conception of theory in history. Theory represents a particular approach to the historical problem. It is an engagement with the evidence in an effort to liberate understanding from the grip of the Rankean tradition, which so miserably fails to grapple with the how, and now, of historical experience. Whether intended or not, this tradition has evolved into a

¹² Paul Gross, The Past in Ruins: Tradition and the Critique of Modernity (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), p.117.

confining rather than an emancipatory activity. Theory promotes an historical investigation which allows a person to better understand his or her own experiences, and to act on that understanding. Theory raises consciousness, it does not define it. Theory is the need for, and the presence of, questions which drive personal and communal liberation. Such activity is the necessary concern of the responsible individual.

Theory was in vogue with some historians at MUN, but it was generally Marxist, expressed in the form of labour history, of which I was never much interested. Such indifference certainly doused any desire I had to be theoretical. My experience in the Department of History, at the UofA, suggested a bias against theory as a way of historical understanding. The theory course, of which I have referred, discussed and condemned various approaches, but content oriented courses did not encourage theoretical approaches -- little Marxism, post-structuralism or post-modernism there.

Thus, when I entered the doctoral program in Educational Foundations, I had absolutely no interest in theory. However, as theoretical approaches were quite popular with members of the department, I was soon exposed to various methodologies. Exposure did not arouse my interest.

Ultimately, my decision to utilize a theoretical historical perspective was initiated by two professors. After reading an outline of my dissertation topic, one of my supervisors advised me to incorporate a theoretical approach, which could help structure/present the data. Another professor, who adjudicated for awards, suggested that my proposal would be enhanced if it were based on some sort of theory. Thus encouraged and emancipated, and in a less dogmatic environment, I began my search for a relevant

theory.

But, can one use theory in the study of history?

As I have defined it, theory is inappropriate for the study of conventional (Rankean) history; theory, undermines it, erodes it. Theory is the salt on the steel of conventional history.

I have reflected considerably on the choice to use theory in my study. In my reflections, three objections emerged, each of which gave me pause for thought. Potentially, theory is presentist and deterministic (both expressions of the absence of objectivity) and negates historical context. I could not, indeed would not, dispose trivially with these concerns.

A theory created in the present and imposed on the past may seem presentist, and perhaps it is. However, the past cannot be seen as divorced from the present; once the historian decides to study it, the past becomes intimate with the present. Theory has nothing to do with this consummation. The historian seeks to understand the present by examining the past. And in examining that past, the historian is never anything more than a visitor. While the culture shock of entering the past might be transcended, the historian can never truly understand what the past really was because he or she is not of the past. History provides a unique opportunity to understand today, the existence of the past in the present; that must be the historian's concern.

Determinism reflects personal ignorance, not theory. In an attempt to demonstrate the efficacy of a theory, the researcher may well be over-enthusiastic in his or her use of the historical evidence. Such unrestrained zeal, however, and its unscholarly (i.e. pre-determined) results,

do not simply reflect the use of a theory. Rather, they indicate the work of a scholar who proceeds without self-awareness, who constructs and concludes without examining the motives he or she possess for such action.

Ultimately, the notion of objectivity, through which assertions against presentism and determinism emerge, is a mirage: visible; unattainable. Any argument which contends that the utilization of the evidence within a theoretical model somehow corrupts the conclusions thereby obtained is dubious, for it rests on a faith in an absolute truth, and the assumption that the absence of theory reduces bias, enhances objectivity, and improves the likeliness of obtaining that truth. What is that absolute truth, the 'ideal form' of the past? Whose ideal? Whose past? Where does it hide? Within the documents, awaiting discovery? Even if a singular, consensual, ideal form of the past did exist, the historian's bias would preclude its detection.

Theories can negate socio-historical context, which is not to imply that they must. Common sense suggests that a theory used to understand an historical topic necessarily addresses the socio-historical context, that the historian be aware of that context, though he or she must be prepared to accept that he can never understand that context in its totality. I do believe, however, that context is less important than the activities which permeate and charge it. A recognition and incorporation of important secondary sources can enrich and ensure socio-historical context. However, the use of secondary sources must be characterized by caution. Such sources more likely represent the historian's reality rather than the topic he or she has studied.

So, it is not so much a question of avoiding these issues, but of managing them?

Managing them in the sense that they are inescapably part of historical understanding because they are part of human understanding. Objectivity precludes experience, and, as experience fundamentally constructs the individual, experience ironically precludes objectivity.

Given, then, that the historian's experience is central to historical understanding, he or she must continually reflect on how it may affect his or her pursuit of history; motives and application must be considered. It is a reflective process which must in some way be shared with the reader.

The reader, too, is a central figure in the historical process. The reader must take it upon him or her self to consider and judge how evidence is being used, how the historian's perspective influences the finished product. In this sense, the reader must be invited into the historical process; he or she must be a witness to construction, as well as an observer of the completed structure. Thus, it would be valuable to provide the reader with considerable original documentation, perhaps, occasionally an entire text. This may perhaps be tedious, but it provides a good check on the historian's use of those documents.

Comfortable with the use of theory, then, you choose the ideas of Arnold van Gennep and Michel Foucault.

Neither immediately nor wholeheartedly. After reading and digesting some of the works of both thinkers, I decided to use some of their ideas, and combine them with my own, in an attempt to develop a novel approach.

My personal experiences sharpened my interest in these two thinkers, in their explorations of power. I have spent my life within two prominent disciplinary institutions, the school and the university, both of which are undoubtedly physical manifestations of power. The normal school, as a

disciplinary institution, is a cousin of these institutions, so important in my life. Thus, an exploration of it enhances my self-awareness; it allows me to better understand the impact of the institutions on myself, and it suggests how I might address that impact. Similarly, as an educator, this knowledge is also of material benefit to me in my relationships with others within institutional environments (where I expect my future to be).

Van Gennep was suggested, indirectly at least, by one of my supervisors. He had been writing an article using van Gennep's concept of the rites of passage. I had been long attracted to anthropology, and was quite willing to consider the concept. I read the translation of van Gennep's Les rites de passage, and immediately found it quite revealing, enlightening, even liberating. His critique of society reveals ritual as a structure and process which seeks to maintain hegemonies, and which often serves to mask the ignorance and intensify the potency of those who hold positions of authority. An awareness of this function reduces the power of such individuals. As such power is often structural (i.e. it is rooted in the position rather than the individual) and therefore dubious, its reduction benefits those on the margins of the structure.

I believe Foucault was recommended to me by a fellow graduate student. Initially, I did not take much notice.¹³ It was not until after I was encouraged to use some kind of theory in my study that I choose Foucault. On first reading his work, one cannot help but be entranced by the spell of

¹³ In fact, just recently I re-discovered that I had read an article about Foucault in the theory course of my M.A. program. That it had little impact at the time reflects, I think, the low regard in which it was held; though, perhaps I just was not ready for it.

his style. However, it was the substance, his insights into matters historical and contemporary, which were most stimulating. Foucault used history in a way which was very much foreign to me. His was a true historical critique of modern society, an emancipation. To be honest, he re-invigorated my interest in history.

As I read Foucault, I could see that his ideas could be integrated with those of van Gennep. Both were essentially cultural critics. Others questioned the possibility of that relationship, wondering how the theories of the two men could be reconciled. It was suggested to me that van Gennep could be used to refine the ideas of Foucault. Indeed, the specificity of the former enhances the abstraction of the latter. Van Gennep allows me to identify the structures; Foucault allows me to analyze them. I suppose that is rather a simplification, as I can use the ideas of both authors to identify and analyze, but I see this as their primary roles.

Why have you chosen to attempt an institutional critique?

There is personal motivation, which I have already mentioned.

I also want the history I do to be of practical and present relevance, which, I believe, is the proper function of the academic. A critique of a type of institution so essential to modern society, would fulfil that desire. I can contemplate no better way to understand contemporary life than to critique that which is both so integral to it, and to its continuation.

Why have you decided to so visibly differentiate between interpretation and primary documentation in the historical component of your study?

The approach represents a limited, but, I hope, not

insignificant effort to transcend the historical event, and invite the reader into the historical process. To achieve this, history must be de-mystified. Yes, there is no mystery for the scholar who knows history to be as much a means as an end, but I believe that the lay reader encounters history in a manner substantially different than does the professional historian. While the reader is usually presented with a finished product, the historical process is replete with roads not taken, roads which are often every bit as inviting as those routes by which the historian does travel. The reader must be made aware that the product of historical writing, the interpretation which he or she reads, rests significantly upon the discretionary tastes of the historian. The disciplining of the profession of history cannot subdue those tastes; it merely legitimates them. Thus, given the critical function of choice in history, the reader must be given some opportunity to choose his or her interpretation as he or she feels appropriate.

This is not the only reason to invite the reader into the historical process. An objective of this study is to reveal and address the operation of power within society. This is achieved, primarily, by focusing on the construction of individual identity, of personal reality. History is also about the construction of an identity, of a reality into which the reader must fit, or somehow accommodate him or her self. I would be derelict, hypocritical, to attempt to construct that reality on the one hand, and simultaneously critique a similar construction on the other hand. Inviting the reader into the historical process enhances his or her awareness that historical interpretation is a construction, and not necessarily a reality into which he or she must fit. Hopefully, such illumination will defuse that effort to

construct identity, otherwise known as disciplinary power.

Have you no concerns about using the ideas of Foucault and van Gennep?

Doubts do exist, and perhaps that is good. If I reached a point where I could no longer question van Gennep and Foucault, I would be more of a disciple than a scholar, and I do not envision myself as the former. Valuable critiques of others are found within the study, but I will note some of my reservations of both here.

Van Gennep presents a model which appears universal. It seems to me that he really gives little hope to the individual, to the possibility that not all will react similarly to the rites of passage, and the rituals which support them. His determinism underestimates what it means to be human. Perhaps van Gennep's interest was in identification, more so than impact. This is not to say he does not delve into the latter, but it explains his limited exploration of it. One must simply be aware that the identification of the rites of passage does not necessarily indicate their success.

Foucault, like other deconstructionists I am familiar with, presents no solutions. Of course, his understanding of power would preclude his desire to suggest courses of action; arguably, it would have been hypocritical for him to so suggest. Still, I wonder if his ideas can be used to justify his scholarly capitulation? Certainly he did not surrender on a personal level, and in that context, one would hope that his death (a culmination of his rejection of social norms, perhaps?) does not illuminate the radical path that must be taken to defeat power. However, as an intellectual he should have a responsibility to contribute at a communal level, through his thoughts as well as his

actions. He critiques rationality, and his actions critique his own rationality, but for those who know him only through his writings, a terrifying vacuum is the terminal point.

There is something more in Foucault that troubles me. His is an interpretation which gives validity and honour to the marginalized, of which, in certain respects, he was one. Was his work merely a rationalization, a justification, for his own idiosyncrasies? Perhaps even a tribute to them? Should this make any difference? These queries strikes at the foundation of my intellectual training. Increasingly, I believe that experience is essential in research, and yet my historical disciplining dictates its divorce. What if, as Jean Paul Sartre suggests, existence is not rational, that there is no reason why things are as they are and not otherwise?¹⁴ Why, then, must knowledge be obtained through the denial of what is most radically, individually, existentially human?

To enable the reader to more judiciously consider this study and its conclusions, the next section of this chapter presents various critiques of some of the theory which considerably informs this study. While scholarly concerns as to the legitimacy of van Gennep's work are limited, this is not the case with Foucault's work. Numerous scholars have found themselves in conflict with his methodology and conclusions. An exploration of this discord may be of value.

¹⁴ T.Z. Lavine, From Socrates to Sartre: The Philosophic Quest (1984; reprint ed., New York: Bantam Books, 1989), p.345.

DOUBTS ABOUT FOUCAULT

To complete the introductory chapter of this study, I offer some criticisms of the relevant work of Michel Foucault.¹⁵ Such, I realize, is not a traditional introduction, but it will serve to enhance the reader's awareness of the possible limitations of Foucault's work before he or she sees it applied in the subsequent chapters.

A quote from James Miller's recent biography of Foucault serves as a point of departure for an exploration of the critics.

...Foucault left behind no synoptic critique of society, no system of ethics, no comprehensive theory of power, not even (current impressions to the contrary) a generally useful historical method. What value, then, does his work really have? What can it mean for us? How should it be used?¹⁶

My answers to Miller's queries emerge in this study, particularly in Chapter Three. Others, however, have decidedly different opinions....

Hayden White notes that Foucault's most hostile critics ask "whether his statements of fact are true or false, whether his interpretations are valid, or whether his reconstructions of the historical records are

¹⁵ As noted, a similar critical essay of Arnold van Gennep's The Rites of Passage would be of significantly less value. Scholars do not seem to have criticized the basic tenets of van Gennep's work; rather his ideas have been applied and refined. Some of the results of this process, as evident in the work of Victor Turner and Jane White for examples, are outlined in Chapter Three. Arnold van Gennep, Les rites de passage, 1908. Hereafter The Rites of Passage, trans. Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960).

¹⁶ James Miller, The Passion of Michel Foucault (New York: Simon & Schuster Inc., 1993), p.19.

plausible."¹⁷ White suggests that it is difficult to challenge Foucault on these grounds because Foucault denies the authority on which such questions are founded. For example, Foucault denies the truth of facts, and the existence of hidden realities, and contends that the belief in both merely reflects particular manifestations of authority, and therefore power. Similarly, Michael Roth, a less hostile critic, suggests that the debate which swirls around the conventionality of Foucault's history is unnecessarily confusing:

...[Foucault's] work cannot be compared with that of other historians to determine which is 'closer to the facts,' nor does it render their [other historian's] work obsolete by doing what they attempted to do in a more complete way.¹⁸

However, in a study which utilizes some of his rather contentious ideas, it is desirable to give critics of Foucault and his allies their due.¹⁹ Such allowance serves two purposes. It facilitates in myself and my writing the establishment of a critical distance, an awareness of potential limitations to Foucault's analysis, ceilings perhaps concealed in his skilful artistry, or sophistry, depending on one's point of view. These criticisms inform me as I fashion the concept of deconstructive reconstruction and apply the data to it. Illuminating

¹⁷ Hayden White, "Michel Foucault", in Structuralism and Since (1979; reprint ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p.85.

¹⁸ Michael Roth, "Foucault's 'History of the Present'," History and Theory XX:1 (1981):37-8.

¹⁹ Occasionally ideas from Foucault's works will be presented, but only as they relate to the point raised by the critic.

criticisms also strengthens the relationship between me (and my work) and the reader, particularly by disclosing my awareness of, and reflection upon, the potential limitations of Foucault's ideas. However, by exposing Foucault's ideas as theories open to question and doubt, illumination also enhances the reader's responsibility; he or she must consider the validity of Foucault's ideas, and the appropriateness of their use herein.

Foucault's work spanned some three decades, and is generally seen to be discontinuous, fractured: his latter works (labelled genealogy of power) do not necessarily reflect the themes or ideas of his earlier works (labelled archaeology of knowledge). This study is concerned with works usually considered to be from his latter period: Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison (1975; trans. 1977), The History of Sexuality: Introduction, Vol.I (1976; trans. 1978), and Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977 (1980). The criticisms which follow reflect primarily on these works, and the themes therein. I have chosen to outline the criticisms of three scholars, J.G. Merquior, Jean Baudrillard, and Michael Ignatieff, each of whom find Foucault's analysis limited in some respect.²⁰ Merquior's Foucault, is an insightful analysis of the entirety of Foucault's work, built on intensive investigations of his various studies. Baudrillard's Forget Foucault, is a critique of Foucault's conception of power. Michael Ignatieff's A Just Measure of Pain, provides an alternative view of the birth of the prison, and offers a limited, but insightful, reflection on Foucault's reconstruction of that

²⁰ It is important for the reader to be aware that the outlines which follow are my interpretations of the criticisms of Merquior, Baudrillard and Ignatieff.

process.

MERQUIOR

In Foucault J.G. Merquior provides both a commentary on each of Foucault's works, as well an analysis of their cumulative impact and value.²¹ Merquior suggests that Foucault's dominant concern was "to find the conceptual underpinnings of some key practices in modern culture, placing them in historical perspective...",²² thereby providing "a historico-philosophical critique of modernity...."²³ Merquior not only contends that there are specific problems with each of Foucault's works, but also that the *oeuvre* of his efforts is biased because of its ideological foundations. Implicitly, then, the value of Foucault's work is limited, the application of his ideas hazardous.

Central to Merquior's criticism is his questioning of the validity of Foucault's historical interpretations. He cites various experts to demonstrate Foucault's often questionable and sometimes frivolous treatment of the discipline of history. In Merquior's analysis of Discipline and Punish, he exposes three cardinal sins Foucault has committed against the canon of history. First, Foucault gets "important facts wrong", including omissions of historical detail and context. For example, Foucault's overly 'Taylorist' description of nineteenth century French society, which implies high degrees of organization and

²¹ J.G. Merquior, Foucault (1985; reprint ed., London: Fontana Press, 1991).

²² Merquior, p.15.

²³ Merquior, p.16.

stratification, masks the degree to which that society was still a world of the peasant and his or her craft. Second, Foucault's evaluation of historical data are "lop-sided", particularly his totalitarian view of Enlightenment reformism. His tendency is to bridge the historical banks of discipline and efficiency, thereby allowing the currents of humanitarianism, and liberalism to flow below, undisturbed and unrecognized. Third, Foucault's historical explanations are dubious and hollow, as is the case, for example, in his failure to account for the introduction of the disciplinary system into institutional settings other than the prison.²⁴ While Merquior recognizes that Foucault was not writing 'normal history', he still maintains that such claims cannot free him from the responsibilities of the historian. "Foucault's historical evidence is too selective and distorted, his interpretations too sweeping and too biased."²⁵

Merquior raises two other specific problems concerning Foucault's work. He notes Foucault's suspicion of truth-claims, and his contention that all such assertions are merely tools of the will to power, to dominate. However, Merquior counters that "Foucault does not give up at least one truth-claim: that his own analytics of power is true."²⁶ Thus, Foucault is hypocritical. "...if [Foucault's enterprise] tells the truth, then *all* knowledge is suspect in its pretence of objectivity; but in that case, how can the [Foucault's] theory itself vouch for its truth?"²⁷ Despite Foucault's claim that the role of the intellectual

²⁴ Merquior, pp.102-106.

²⁵ Merquior, p.144.

²⁶ Merquior, p.146.

²⁷ Merquior, p.147. The emphasis is Merquior's.

is confrontation not revelation, Merquior nevertheless asserts that it is a paradox which Foucault inappropriately leaves unaddressed. This leads to an additional problem as defined by Merquior, another absence in Foucault's history of the present, that being his failure to address the issue of science, particularly the natural sciences. Merquior maintains that science is integral to modernity, to the present, and yet, by concentrating on the informal knowledges of the human sciences, Foucault ignores its importance. The implication is that Foucault's disinterest in the ideas of validity and objectivity, so important to science, lead him to avoid them altogether²⁸; "[validity and objectivity] remained to him a foreign notion through and through"²⁹.

These, and other less significant criticisms, are raised by Merquior. However the substratum of Merquior's disapproval of Foucault is ideological.³⁰ It is a contention which permeates the text. Foucault's Madness and Civilization "is a piece of ideological melodrama."³¹ Discipline and Punish indicated that "Foucault definitely prefers ideological drama to the wayward contingencies of

²⁸ Merquior, pp.71, 75, 150-1.

²⁹ Merquior, p.38.

³⁰ It is unfortunate that the text gives little information on Merquior. A biographical quote included suggests that "His [Merquior's] achievements might well have in the end made him one of the few philosopher-kings of the century, and -- a rare claim -- one whose efforts were effectively committed to the furtherance of liberal values...." It is important to note, therefore, that Merquior embodied that which Foucault sought to criticize: liberalism and rationality.

³¹ Merquior, p.29.

actual history."³² Ultimately Foucault is a "doctrinaire historian who more often than not strives to compress the historical record in the Proust's bed of ideological preinterpretations."³³ Merquior defines Foucault as a libertarian, and a neo-anarchist, negative in his anti-utopian outlook, and dubious in his defense of irrationalism. Merquior concludes that Foucault is merely the latest in a battalion of French intellectuals who have been duly "holding the fort of the Myth of Revolt..." by criticizing the bourgeoisie with their false (or at least inappropriate) attacks on the fruit of bourgeois culture: modernism, liberalism, and rationalism.³⁴ One gets the feeling from Merquior that the fruit of the tradition of those French intellectuals is sound and fury, signifying nothing.

BAUDRILLARD

Jean Baudrillard's Forget Foucault is a sometimes abstruse criticism of Foucault's notion of power.³⁵ Baudrillard has two central concerns. He contends that Foucault's ability to write about power is evidence of its death, or at least an indication of the exhaustion of the concept's fertility. However, this death, Baudrillard

³² Merquior, p.97.

³³ Merquior, p.152.

³⁴ Merquior, pp.157-9.

³⁵ Jean Baudrillard, Forget Foucault (1977; reprint ed., New York: Semiotext(e), 1987). Baudrillard is a contemporary French philosopher, and, as such, follows in a decidedly cannibalistic culinary tradition of French scholarship. It is a feast, I believe, of which Foucault would have heartily approved.

suggests, is a passing without finality, for it is merely the precursor of power's re-emergence in a new form, a pseudo-reincarnation and a presence which, Baudrillard claims, Foucault fails to address. Herein is found Baudrillard's second concern: Foucault's analysis of power is spent before it achieves its purpose. Foucault overlooks a precipice and shrivels before its challenge; his efforts fail to penetrate the essence of power. Thus, Foucault's radical rhetoric masks a self-absorbed exhibitionist: impotency content to expose. Baudrillard completes his essay with a brief, but complex, speculation on what he envisions to be power.

In this relatively short essay, Baudrillard suggests on no less than five occasions that Foucault's notion of power is, in the former's word, *passe*.³⁶ Foucault brilliantly provides an analysis of that which no longer matters. "When one talks so much about power, it's because it can no longer be found anywhere."³⁷ One might speculate that Foucault's illumination of power has disabled it; his light has transformed it. However, and less admirably, it is a metamorphosis which he fails to address. Baudrillard is often caustic in his criticism of this failure. Even if Foucault's analysis was relevant, Baudrillard believes it to be inherently flawed: Foucault's distributional power "would long ago have ceased meeting with any resistance."³⁸ Presumably, such power would assimilate all, thereby creating its own vacuum, enclosure, demise. Baudrillard's concern appears to be that of the optimist, one might even say, after a just perceptible hesitation, of the liberal.

³⁶ Baudrillard, p.16. See also pps.11, 39, 51, 60.

³⁷ Baudrillard, p.60.

³⁸ Baudrillard, pp.42-3.

Foucault is castigated for failing to recognize that power indeed has an end, a terminal point, albeit unattainable.³⁹ While Baudrillard does not significantly address it, one can imagine that such a terminus certainly allows for the creation of an all-encompassing strategy which might be created and implemented to defeat power. It is a direction less prominent in Foucault's writing, where universal strategies succumb to specificity.

Baudrillard's critique is polymerous, but one point can be detailed to give an indication of its complexity and direction. Baudrillard addresses the importance of production, of positivity, in Foucault's analysis of power: power operates to produce the individual.

This is what Foucault tells us (in spite of himself): nothing functions with repression (*repression*), everything functions with production; nothing functions with repression (*refoulement*), everything functions with liberation. But *it is the same thing*. Any form of liberation is fomented by repression: the liberation of productive forces is like that of desire; the liberation of bodies is like that of women's liberation, etc. There is no exception to the logic of liberation: any force or any liberated form of speech constitutes one more turn in the spiral of power.⁴⁰

Baudrillard conceives of repression, production and liberation as one, while Foucault does not. For Baudrillard production is repression because it "force[s] what belongs to another order to materialize."⁴¹ Thus it defines/confines rather than liberates, particularly if, as Baudrillard seems to assert, it designates the individual

³⁹ Baudrillard, pps.12, 38.

⁴⁰ Baudrillard, p.26. The emphases are Baudrillard's.

⁴¹ Baudrillard p.21.

in spite of what remains hidden, that which is actually real. It is this production which seeks to govern force relations.⁴² Thus, the individuality of power is also profoundly interpersonal, social. While Foucault's concept of modern power rejects this technology of repression, (Foucault asserts that the technology properly belongs to an earlier manifestation of power), he might well suggest that the real is indeed that which is not produced (via external actions), and that any effort to reveal something as real would certainly have to be analysed as a spiral of power.

Baudrillard asserts that "the whole analysis of power needs to be reconsidered."⁴³ Forget Foucault is the genesis of such a reconsideration. For Baudrillard power is an image of what might be, of possibility, but of which never is, of reality. The secret is, power does not exist.⁴⁴ Baudrillard asserts that the fullest, most violent exercise of power actually precludes its exercise. "No form of power dares go that far (to the point where in any case it too would be destroyed). And so it is in facing this unanswerable challenge that power starts to break up."⁴⁵ The disintegration of power is the result of what appears to be a dialectic at the heart of Baudrillard's understanding of it. Power is animated by a tension between

⁴² Baudrillard, p.48.

⁴³ Baudrillard, p.42. It is not my intention to communicate the entirety of Baudrillard's conception of power, only to demonstrate, in a limited way, how it differs from Foucault's.

⁴⁴ Baudrillard, p.58.

⁴⁵ Baudrillard, p.54.

production and seduction.⁴⁶ Strategies of production, which seek to expose and create the individual, are countered and negotiated by those of seduction, which strive to maintain secrecy and integrity. This constant interplay, this challenge offered, this gauntlet retrieved, is the essence of power. The goal of its exercise (one's position in the exchange is irrelevant) is accumulation, either of that which is revealed or of that which is hidden. Herein lies the internal contradiction of power, its fatal flaw. Total exposure is the death of the individual, while total secrecy is the death of the social; both represent the exhaustion, the dissipation of power. Consumed in infinitely spinning spirals of power, Foucault envisions neither dissipation, nor possibility thereof; there exists only the ever-assured presence of power, at least until the death of man.

IGNATIEFF

Michael Ignatieff's A Just Measure of Pain is not a work which directly criticizes Foucault's writings; in fact, Foucault is cited only in the conclusion, and even then rather marginally.⁴⁷ Ignatieff's text is an historical interpretation of the development of English prison reform and penitentiaries in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He provides a very effective critique of liberal ideology, noting that

the historians of liberalism have neglected
the way in which the extension of popular

⁴⁶ Baudrillard discusses this relationship on pps.21-22, 47-48.

⁴⁷ Michael Ignatieff, A Just Measure of Pain: The Penitentiary in the Industrial Revolution, 1750-1850 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

sovereignty was accompanied by the elaboration of institutions and the deployment of philanthropic strategies designed to implant the inner disciplinarians of guilt and compunction in working-class consciences.⁴⁸

The crisis of a changing, collapsing social order gave the imperative and opportunity to develop new social foundations, inner disciplinarians. The prison reformers focused on "popular consent, maintained by guilt at the thought of wrongdoing, rather than by deference and fear."⁴⁹ Ultimately, the siblings of democracy were disciplinary institutions (prisons, schools) which sought to control and normalize deviancy. While there are certainly traces of Foucault's pen herein, Ignatieff does raise some concerns about Foucault's interpretation of events, as presented in Discipline and Punish.⁵⁰ As this particular text of Foucault is particularly significant to the model of institutional criticism as it is developed in this study, some consideration of Ignatieff's objections may be of value.

A Just Measure of Pain is a very different history

⁴⁸ Ignatieff, pp.212-213.

⁴⁹ Ignatieff, p.211.

⁵⁰ There are limitations of a comparison of historical interpretations, restraints rooted in the historian's motivation and perspective. Reflecting on the matter, R.G. Collingwood suggested "That what one learnt depended not merely on what one turned up in one's trenches but also on what questions one was asking; so that a man who was asking questions of one kind learnt one kind of thing from a piece of digging which to another man revealed something different, to a third something illusory, and to a fourth nothing at all." Autobiography, pp.24-5.

than Discipline and Punish.⁵¹ In Ignatieff's work the prison activists, their motivations, values and efforts play a central role. Thus we read of the directive exertions of prominent reformers like John Howard, Elizabeth Fry and G.O. Paul. Whilst these were individuals who reflected the humanitarianism of an age, they also transcended contemporary thought, thereby providing new directions and solutions to the crisis which followed in the wakes of the American and French Revolutions. Foucault is much less interested in prominent individuals or their humanitarian drives. Rather, his concern is the means by which the technology of prison reform diffused throughout the social body, and its impact thereon. Ignatieff excels at examining causes and roots, much in the vein of traditional history. Foucault, however, seeks a new vein, a less traditional application of history. He mines issues of the effects and manifestation of those roots. Thus, for example, Ignatieff devotes considerable effort to describing pre-reform punishment and the reasons for its change. He speculates that the so-called incarceration of the early eighteenth century allowed for a separate and parallel penal society, which actually worked against the inmate's eventual incorporation into society.⁵² While Foucault's analysis of pre-reform punishment is graphic and detailed, his efforts at explaining the initiation of prison reform are limited; he simply notes shifting practices. However, Foucault's interest is less the

⁵¹ One area which compares quite favourably between Ignatieff and Foucault, perhaps one in which Foucault even excels, is usage of primary documentation. However, Foucault's work offers less of a challenge when it comes to citation of secondary sources.

⁵² Ignatieff, Chapter Two, "Eighteenth Century Punishment", but particularly p.42.

nineteenth century than the late twentieth, and his desire is to develop a critique of today, and not of yesteryear. While Ignatieff speculates on the impact and meaning of prison reform on today, that is less his concern.

The studies of Ignatieff and Foucault have numerous intersections, but arguably there is no more demonstrative junction than that which emerges from analysis of Bentham's Panopticon.⁵³ The Panopticon was a new type of prison, an imposing disciplinary institution, proposed by the idiosyncratic reform utilitarian Jeremy Bentham in the last decade of the eighteenth century. Ignatieff points out that the Panopticon was not a new institution, merely one adapted to the economic exigencies of emergent capitalism.⁵⁴ Within the Panopticon, inmates would be labourers, as they had often been in workhouses and houses of correction since the seventeenth century. However, this traditional system was plagued by the brutality of guards and owners, who sought profits at the expense of inmates' health and life. In an effort to fetter brutality, Bentham proposed communal and economic restraints: unlimited public access to the Panopticon, and the owner's payment of a fine for each inmate death. While it was not until 1810 that the British government officially rejected the Panopticon, Bentham's idea had merely been a minor concern since the late 1790's. Ignatieff interprets this decision as evidence that the government opted for an authority founded on state

⁵³ It is not my intention to give a thorough analysis of Ignatieff's and Foucault's interpretations of the Panopticon. I merely want to demonstrate that both envision its function and significance to be quite different. There is a more detailed description of the Panopticon to be found in Chapter Three.

⁵⁴ Ignatieff's discussion of the Panopticon is found primarily on pps.109-113.

bureaucracy, rather than one based on market incentives. There Ignatieff's description ends.

However, in Foucault's interpretation of prison reform, the Panopticon is no mere bit actor.⁵⁵ Foucault's history of the Panopticon does not address the workhouse, or houses of correction. Rather he discusses issues of quarantine: geography, inspection, and organization. Herein, is a nascent gaze which identifies and defines the individual. It is a gaze which finds its architectural fulfilment in Bentham's Panopticon. Thereby refined, it is once again diffused into the community, a process Foucault minutely analyses. Despite Ignatieff's minimalist interpretation of the Panopticon's significance, he seems to see in history's haze a form outlined by Foucault: the Panopticon "was in fact a symbol of the characteristic features of disciplinary thinking in his [Bentham's] age."⁵⁶ It is a form which Ignatieff chooses not to dwell upon.

Ultimately, Foucault wants to tear history, or at least its implications, from the past. He believes the value of unrended history to be dubious, spurious. This is a violence avoided by Ignatieff. He sees prison reform to be a decidedly nineteenth century phenomenon, "a response...to the whole social crisis of the period, and as part of a larger strategy of political, social, and legal reform designed to reestablish order on a new foundation."⁵⁷ He is generally content with an eighteenth and nineteenth century exploration of that new foundation.

⁵⁵ The third section of Discipline and Punish is entitled "Panopticism", pps.195-228.

⁵⁶ Ignatieff, p.113.

⁵⁷ Ignatieff, p.210.

It is thus likely that Foucault's efforts to explore the traces of this foundation in the present most disturbs Ignatieff. Commenting directly on Discipline and Punish, Ignatieff points out what he perceives to be an internal inconsistency, a flaw implied to be the result of Foucault's imposition of the past on the present. Ignatieff asserts that,

...it would be fatalistic to conclude that such sciences ["the business of finding new ways of controlling and subduing" deviance] exclusively define the modes of public perception or that they have driven from our cognitive field any possibility of alternative vision. This would appear to be the conclusion of Michel Foucault's Discipline and Punish...and yet of course his own work is a triumphant demonstration of the falsity of his own fatalism.⁵⁸

Ignatieff, echoing Merquior's concerns outlined previously, understands what Foucault has done to be a generalization refuted by his own ability to critique the present.⁵⁹

This review of some of the objections made by the critics of Foucault demonstrates the passion that his work generates. Certainly, their concerns must be taken as buoys indicating that there is nothing necessarily true in Foucault's writings. This begs the question of truth, and, more particularly, historical truth. My reflections thereon

⁵⁸ Ignatieff, p.220.

⁵⁹ However, the degree to which discipline was exercised in totality was doubtful in the past; it is even more doubtful today. Deviancy always slips through the cracks, and Foucault's book is an indication of that, as Ignatieff notes. Did Foucault ever write in the terms of totality of which Ignatieff speaks? I, for one, do not think so.

have been somewhat addressed in the autobiographical component of this study; the reader, of course, will have his or her own thoughts on the matter.

All I can hope is that the reader, more informed and aware, may now proceed into the study on firmer footing.

CHAPTER 3

A METHOD OF DECONSTRUCTIVE RECONSTRUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The institutional critique which this study seeks to achieve rests upon a method of deconstructive reconstruction. An exploration of this method, and of the theory of disciplinary power from which it emerged, are provided in this chapter. I consider it important to note that this method rests on a belief in the individual, in the individual's ability to act in his or her own best interests. The method emerges not from a worldview characterized by hopelessness, but rather from one which believes that enhanced awareness is empowering and liberating. The presentation of deconstructive reconstruction in the following pages is generic, that is without specific reference to any disciplinary institution. The particular application of the method in this study is delineated in Chapter Four.

The function of this chapter is simply expository. It should enable the reader to understand both why and how disciplinary institutions seek to construct identity. However, the focus of the chapter and ultimately of the study, is the means by which the construction of identity is attempted -- the 'how' of deconstructive reconstruction, in its fullest sense -- and thus the emphasis is placed on an exploration of that process.

DISCIPLINARY POWER

Prior to analysing the intricacies of an institutional critique, deconstructive reconstruction needs to be explored against its *mise-en-scene* of disciplinary power.

Such a placement, an exploration in context, a genealogical excursion, should enhance the reader's understanding of the institutional critique attempted in this study.

To grasp the meaning of disciplinary power one must jettison more traditional, familiar and comfortable convictions of power.¹ Unlike previous manifestations of power, such as the power of the sovereign, disciplinary power is not exercised from above, a blunt instrument wielded to ensure obedience. It does not take the form of occasional expositions of violence and bloodshed, acts which seek to control through terror. It is both more subtle in its operation, and without such a supreme authority. Although in contemporary society it generally operates upon all individuals, its exercise is the exclusive domain of no one person.

The application of disciplinary power is best understood in terms of strategies, tactics, technologies, and micro-technologies. Strategies, broad and coarse, consist of tactics, which in turn are collections of technologies, refined and intimate, often enacted by various micro-technologies. Disciplinary power does not easily lend itself to structures which can be readily

¹ The following consideration of disciplinary power is immeasurably informed by the work of Michel Foucault, which is not to suggest my agreement with all his ideas. Three texts and one essay have been foundational: Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison, trans. by Alan Sheridan (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978; reprint ed., New York: Vintage Books, 1979); The History of Sexuality, Vol.I: An Introduction, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Random House, Inc., 1978; reprint ed., Vintage Books, 1990); Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980); and "The Subject and Power," in Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics, eds. Herbert L. Dreyfus, and Paul Rabinow (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982; 2nd ed., 1983).

perceived by the eye. However, an approximate visual metaphor might be a construction of pyramids of re-enforcement, each one consisting of a strategy implemented by various tactics, mobilized by numerous technologies, and supporting micro-technologies. This triangular architecture is synonymous with the population on which and through which it operates. The effect, and ultimately, the intent of disciplinary power emerge most lucidly through an analysis of this intimately linked attack. Strategies, tactics, technologies, and micro-technologies provide a comprehensive assault on the individual, and function to render him or her docile, utile, and willing: efficient.²

Efficiency is the watchword of disciplinary power; it is the cumulative effect of the docility, utility and willingness which tend to germinate within that environs. The significance of disciplinary power is its efficacy in facilitating the orderly, fecund, and essentially uneventful operation of society. Disciplinary power attempts to define the person in terms which will allow for such smooth, placid management. As the productive operation of society generally precludes exclusivities, power seeks to place the individual in a collectivity with as little disruption of that aggregate as possible. Efficiency abhors multiplicities.³ The result is profoundly hegemonizing: "...when multiplicity is suppressed, so to is our power to imagine how things could be otherwise."⁴ Singularity is

² Foucault, Discipline and Punishment, p.182.

³ Though he does not put it quite this way, Gilles Deleuze provided the inspiration for this idea. Deleuze, Foucault, trans. Sean Hand (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), pp.33-4.

⁴ Deborah Britzman, Practice Makes Practice: A Critical Study of Learning to Teach (New York: State University of New York Press, 1991), p.10.

filtered and forgotten, only to resurface, if ever, as nightmares.

To achieve efficiency, and the co-option of the person which both provides for and sustains it, disciplinary power endeavours to exploit the individual at the most intimate levels. It acts upon the individual's autonomous actions in an attempt to structure those actions, both as they exist and as they will come to exist.

[Disciplinary power] is a total structure of actions brought to bear upon possible actions; it incites, it induces, it seduces, it makes easier or more difficult; in the extreme it constrains or forbids absolutely; it is nevertheless a way of acting upon an acting subject or acting subjects by virtue of their acting or being capable of action. A set of actions upon other actions.⁵

Furthermore, as one's probing of disciplinary power becomes increasingly subterranean, it becomes evident that disciplinary power also seeks to structure the past. This is most forcefully, and visibly achieved via technologies which create carefully constructed memories. Efforts are made to enhance the personal archives of memory, positive experiences which serve to reinforce and validate actions of the present and future.

It is of considerable importance that loci of disciplinary power are the actions of an individual rather than his or her body. This implies a recognition that he or she is an active, even pro-active being, an acknowledgement which integrates a foundational conviction of modern (liberal) society. Disciplinary power has this potent propensity to graft itself onto beliefs and outcomes of apparent value, thereby intensifying its efficacy.

As disciplinary power functions to structure actions,

⁵ Foucault, "The Subject and Power," p.220.

it can be said to be ritualistic. Indeed, ritual is of great consequence in the exercise of disciplinary power. A fruitful exploration of its importance can begin with a poem.

The Ritual

I

She took her name beneath according skies,
With ringing harbour cheers, and in the lee
Of hills derived her birthright to the sea -
The adoration of a thousand eyes.
Each bulwark ran its way from stern to prow,
With the slim tracery of a sea-gull's wing,
And - happy augury for the christening -
The bottle broke in rainbows on her bow.

Beyond the port in role and leap and curl,
In the rich hues of sunlight on the spray,
And in the march of tides - swept down the bay
The pageant of the morning, to the skirl
Of merry pipers as the rising gale
Sounded a challenge to her maiden sail.

II

She left her name under revolted skies,
Before the break of day, upon a rock
Whose long and sunken ledge met the full shock
Of an Atlantic storm, and with the cries
Of the curlews issuing from the dark caves,
Accompanied by the thud of wings from shags
That veered down from their nests upon the crags
To pounce on bulwarks shattered by the waves.

And the birthright that was granted for a brief,
Exultant hour with cheers and in the lee
Of hills was now restored unto the sea,
Amidst the grounded gutturals of the reef,
And with the grind of timbers on the sides
Of cliffs resounding with the march of tides.⁶

⁶ E.J. Pratt, *The Ritual*, in Sandra Djwa and R.G. Moyles (eds.), *E.J. Pratt: Complete Poems* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), Part I, pp.129-30. *The Ritual* was written in October, 1924.

While poetry is beyond a single understanding, my reading of Pratt's poem serves to illuminate the concept of ritual. In *The Ritual*, ritual looms as a process providing a beginning which reassures, and an ending bereft of questions. The initial rituals facilitate the ship's confident emergence on a sea of certainty, dispensing, as its legacy, an existence of arrogance. As the ritual constructs, doubt dissipates. Ritual thus emerges as a process which allows for, and even creates, the condition within which one lives. It is the visible instrument of a transparent milieu. Without it, one may drift, anchorless, unsure, ineffective.

Ritual manipulates to ensure conformity to pre-determined standards. Neophytes subject to ritual are urged to submit and obey. When the ritual is successful, the neophytes are "ground down to a sort of homogenous social material...", as Victor Turner so vividly describes it, only to be refashioned in a form compatible with their future duties and environment.⁷ The implications of this are staggering, for ritual, a process over which the neophyte has minimal control, provides a structure which allows for the definition of the self, which is the very intent of disciplinary power. It is "a declaration of form against indeterminacy...."⁸ Ritual strives to coercively reduce original individual input into the construction of identity. When effective, it confines rather than liberates, and replaces singularity with unity. This transformation is achieved by attempting to ensure that

⁷ Victor Turner, The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969).

⁸ Sally F. Moore, and Barbara G. Myerhoff, "Introduction: Secular Ritual: Forms and Meanings," in Secular Ritual, eds. Sally F. Moore, and Barbara G. Myerhoff (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp., 1977), p.17.

neophytes react in similar fashion to given circumstances. Thus, their actions must be pre-determined, an outcome which ritual seeks to guarantee. Such a result is also of the essence of disciplinary power.

The target of disciplinary power, then, emerges as not simply specific individual actions of the present, but the realm of all possible individual actions in the future.⁹ It operates on what is possible in an attempt to dictate what is necessary. It seeks to determine future behaviour before presentation of choice, to control personal conduct prior to reflective thought. When successfully exercised, it ensures that reflection, seemingly detached, will generate the predisposed conduct. Disciplinary power "describes those relationships in which one agent is able to get another to do what he or she would not otherwise have done."¹⁰ It is profoundly about the creation of will, of desire. The scholar's challenge is to discover and illuminate how this structuring, this creation, is achieved, particularly if, as has been noted, disciplinary power does not rest on an agency of coercion rooted in physical violence. In fact, the force of disciplinary power is its ability to convince the individual, without such terror, that it is to his or her advantage to surrender to its imperatives.

If triumphant, disciplinary power renders the individual a ready participant in its campaign of docility and utility, by convincing him or her in the validity of certain knowledges (and subsequent actions). It is an

⁹ Foucault, "The Subject and Power", p.221.

¹⁰ Mark Philip, "Michel Foucault", in The Return of the Grand Theory in the Human Sciences, ed. Quentin Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985; reprint ed., Canto, 1990), p.74. It is well to note that in this context, we are all agents in the exercise of power.

outcome which "is not ensured by right but by technique, not by law but by normalization, not by punishment but by control, methods that are employed on all levels...."¹¹ Co-option of the individual is sought neither through the allegiance of fealty and homage, the limited, superficial arrangement of codified regulations, nor the dread of pain. While disciplinary power may utilize elements of these tactics, its strength does not emanate from them. The sovereign tactics of right, law and punishment culminate in an effacement of the individual, whereas disciplinary power, when victorious, is effective because it constructs the individual, and, in the process, convinces the construction that he or she is of the utmost importance.

Ironic is this relationship of eradication and creation. The tactics of sovereign power were rooted in a recognition of the individual as a force with which it had to reckon. Disciplinary power, however, assumes the individual to be truly important only while he or she is being constructed by the strategies, and their supporting activities which constitute that manifestation of power. After successful construction the individual is in no real sense "individual"; he or she is merely reflective of the demands of power. In modern society technique, normalization (the drive to pre-determined uniformity) and control permeate those strategies, and ultimately tend to facilitate the emergence of the individual as a subject.

How so? Allegiance is no longer a matter of privilege and jurisdiction, assured as a matter of course. It must be achieved via the application of techniques which may be passive (e.g. the individual as an object observed) or active (e.g. the individual as a subject participating in a ceremony). The complexity of society is such that laws

¹¹ Foucault, The History of Sexuality, p.89.

cannot hope to cover the entirety of possible action. Thus, normalization seeks to determine a course of conduct that precludes law, that renders it superfluous (e.g. transcended by the individual's inherent recognition of correct, acceptable values/norms). And punishment reveals a view of the individual as object, a notion abhorrent to the modern world. Control, however, exercised not merely on, but through the individual, uses his or her subjectivity as its method of diffusion (e.g. through the individual's internalization of both those correct values/norms, and the processes by which they are maintained). Disciplinary power seeks to ensure that the individual chooses, and desires, to act as he or she does. Its efficacy is reduced if it must depend on punishment after the action.

The exercise of disciplinary power thus requires the individual be a subject, a condition which emerges in two distinct forms. The individual is "subject to someone else by control and dependence, and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self knowledge."¹²

A subjectivity in which the individual is "subject to someone else..." reeks of artificiality, has strong elements of objectification, and is inherently alienating. But, in the exercise of disciplinary power, it is not clearly manifested as such. Initially, the individual is acted upon in an attempt to guarantee control over him or her and to ensure his or her dependence. However, this is done in a manner which convinces the person, upon whom disciplinary power is operating, that his or her individuality is being enhanced via that operation. As techniques seek to reveal knowledge about him or her, the individual becomes a swirling centre of activity. The individual becomes important, in a way that only great men

¹² Foucault, "The Subject and Power", p.212.

had been previously. Knowingly or not, this hurly-burly is moving, or pushing, the individual in a direction which suggests, and increasingly ensures, that what is real about him or her -- what the individual *is* -- is that which is revealed about him or her. The unveiled manifests the only reality. And, whilst revelling in this attention, there likely emerges a certain willingness on the part of the subject, a willingness to conform, to be controlled and dependent. This will to reveal is born of a false understanding which promotes the idea that such action enhances the self. The individual's willingness also generally masks the accompanying alienation. For how can the individual know that the commotion is with purpose: to enhance his or her efficiency, to ensure his or her effacement?

The importance of the individual's willingness as it is revealed in the second meaning of subjectivity, "the individual tied to his own identity...", is paramount to the operation of disciplinary power. Herein lurks the critical productive aspect of power, by which an identity is constructed and irrevocably linked to the individual. Weakened by control and dependence, the individual is subject to further processes of identity construction. Tactics and technologies shift; ones which manipulate that which is illuminated are exercised. Disciplinary power attempts to convince the individual that what has been revealed actually constitutes his or her self, and, furthermore, that the individual's conscious action upon those visible elements of self enable him or her to be a subject determining paths of action which construct his or her self. In reality, however, the likelihood is that previously applied tactics and technologies have objectified the individual, and any choices he or she makes have been resolved prior to the emergence of the situation

necessitating action. The self-acting individual becomes a myth.¹³

Alienation, as it turns out, which had appeared to be removed as a problem in the construction of identity, was merely submerged. And, as the individual choices of one on whom disciplinary power has been effectively exercised inevitably appear to lead to a life of efficient production, the individual may be said to aid and abet in his or her own continued objectification. Efficiency requires submission. However, efficiency (and disciplinary power) operates at maximum production only when objectification becomes subjectification, and passive submission becomes active participation. It is dependent on the manufacture of desire. This is the ploy of disciplinary power, the hoax of individuality. It seeks to ensure that the individual acts of his or her own free will, all the while constructing a being which is actually bereft of such a will. Concealed herein is the duende of disciplinary power, its powerfully alienating consequences. Its efficacy rests in an ironic twist, through which the ability to manipulate the individual is realized.

A most visible manifestation of disciplinary power is the environment of a disciplinary institution, one which seeks to construct the inmate's identity. In such a close and controlled milieu, the exercise of disciplinary power is intensified and magnified. Thus, a criticism of the internal operations of such an institution, its culture, can best suitably illuminate the exercise of disciplinary

¹³ Still, this description of power as illumination is limited, for there are aspects of identity which are never revealed. Unarguably, that which remains hidden, although marginalized by the tactics and technologies exercised on the individual, is still part of the individual. Perhaps, as Baudrillard suggests, the hidden, and not the constructed identity, is the individual.

power.¹⁴

THE RITES OF PASSAGE

It has perhaps become evident that a discussion of disciplinary power is often characterized by a certain imprecision, an awkward estrangement. The concept, a relatively new one, neither readily nor easily lends itself to either exact descriptions or unequivocal assertions. Part of the scholar's task, then, is to refine the coarseness of the concept, thereby augmenting its potential as an analytical tool. A step in this direction has been provided by the link previously suggested between disciplinary power and ritual. It is possible, indeed valuable, to further pursue that relationship. With this in mind, it is proposed that the more well-developed concept of the rites of passage be used to enhance, and illuminate, this exploration of disciplinary power. Illumination will be achieved by uniting some elements fundamental to both rites of passage and disciplinary power. Hopefully, such integration may allow us to grasp a firmer understanding of the constructing forces which operate on the individual in modern society.

The concept of the rites of passage was first proposed by the anthropologist Arnold van Gennep. He suggested that there exists a tripartite model of social transformation, which he named rites of passage. Although he did not claim an absolute universality for the concept, its continued use by scholars leaves little doubt as to its analytical

¹⁴ Perhaps such an approach can also allow us to draw conclusions about the larger environment in which the institution thrives. While I do not explore this relationship in the study, it may be something the reader might want to consider.

value.¹⁵ The rites of passage consist of three distinct phases, those of separation (the individual's removal from a previous community or state of existence), transition (revelation to the individual of the rules, values and practices of the new group) and incorporation (the individual's recognized acceptance of the rules, values and practices of the new group).¹⁶ Some rites may be readily identifiable as any of these, as, for example, the rites of separation associated with funeral ceremonies. However, in prolonged rituals all three may be evident, though always in the aforementioned order.¹⁷ Van Gennep asserts that the overall goal of the rites of passage is "to ensure a change of condition or a passage from one magico-religious or secular group to another."¹⁸ As van Gennep notes, "the transition from one state to another is literally equivalent to giving up the old life and 'turning over a new leaf.'"¹⁹ Authority figures seek and desire an experiential change in the neophyte, a metamorphosis identified by a new outlook, a different understanding of

¹⁵ Van Gennep, The Rites of Passage, p.161. The bibliographical review in Chapter One contains examples of recent usages of van Gennep's concept.

¹⁶ Van Gennep, The Rites of Passage, p.11.

¹⁷ This assertion rests on a macro-view of a ritual. As one's analysis becomes increasingly refined, and various elements of the ritual are viewed from a micro-perspective, it does not necessarily hold. For example, a rite which suggests separation (which dominant function is separation) may be composed of elements of transition and incorporation. Internal context is of great importance.

¹⁸ Ibid., p.11.

¹⁹ Ibid., p.183.

life.²⁰ Thus, profound transformation, production, is central to rites of passage, just as it is to that of disciplinary power. As Foucault notes, "discipline makes individuals...."²¹

The ritualization of status transformation evident in the rites of passage provides the special precautions which address the potential dangers accompanying such radical reorganization.²² Changes in social status may rupture social stability, necessitating safeguards to reduce any negative effects. During the rituals, these precautions or safeguards are manifested as/in physical or mental stress, frames of mind which technologies evoke to create confusion, anxiety, and dependency amongst those undergoing the ritual.²³ In recognition of the ritual (and the potentially explosive effects which accompany it), observers often grant certain forbidden leniencies and concessions to the neophytes.²⁴ Ritual thus stabilizes both internally and externally. Through ritual authority, control, legitimacy, continuity, construction, and revitalization are meant to be assured. In essence, ritual is a primary conduit through which disciplinary power

²⁰ Ibid., p.22; and Jean S. Lafontaine, Initiation (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), p.185.

²¹ Foucault, Discipline and Punish, p.170.

²² Van Gennep, The Rites of Passage, pp.48, 184.

²³ Paul Spencer, "The Function of Ritual in the Socialization of the Samburu Moran," in Socialization: The Approach from Social Anthropology, ed., Philip Mayer (London: Tavistock Publishers, Ltd., 1970), p.143; Jane J. White, "Student Teaching as a Rite of Passage," Anthropology and Education Quarterly 20:3 (September, 1989), p.182; and Victor Turner, The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure, p.103.

²⁴ Van Gennep, The Rites of Passage, p.114.

flows.

DECONSTRUCTIVE RECONSTRUCTION

There are striking similarities between Foucault's concept of disciplinary power and van Gennep's model of rites of passage, similarities which may be profitably pursued. Foucault discusses the importance of three tactics as essential to the operation of disciplinary power: hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement, and the examination.²⁵ Van Gennep, as noted, indicates that there are three stages inherent in rites of passage: separation, transition and incorporation. My combination of Foucault's tactics and van Gennep's stages result in three tactics, hereafter referred to as exposure, dispersion, and investiture. The operation, and ultimate effect, of these tactics upon the individual will be referred to as deconstructive reconstruction.²⁶

Deconstructive reconstruction is both a condition within which the individual finds him or her self, and a process which acts upon him or her. It seeks to conform, or construct, the individual, to develop desires in him or her, thus revealing its productive/creative capacity. Deconstructive reconstruction emerges as a strategy within which the three tactics of exposure, dispersion and investiture are at play. While these tactics may be exercised upon the individual in any way at any time, their

²⁵ Foucault, Discipline and Punish, pp.170-192.

²⁶ While tactics is a term utilized by Foucault, the combination of his and van Gennep's tripartite concepts into the specific tactics of exposure, dispersion, and investiture are mine. Similarly, although deconstructive reconstruction is informed by the ideas of both thinkers, its creation and usage in this study is also mine.

most effective application suggests they follow a pre-determined course: exposure, dispersion, and investiture. It is in such an order that the tactics will be most successful both in transforming the individual into a state of artificiality, as defined primarily by success within the institution (ultimately, the illumination and enhancement of characteristics deemed important therein). Perhaps more disturbing than the transformation itself, is the capacity of the tactics to procure the individual's willing support for such a transformation. The tactics will be outlined in their most effective order, a process which will also more fully demonstrate the integration of Foucault's and van Gennep's ideas.

Though the tactics are individually described, the reader should keep in mind that successful deconstructive reconstruction requires that all three operate harmoniously on the individual. Van Gennep warns against the danger of examining specific rituals, out of context of the rites of passage.²⁷ Such a reductive analysis impedes the meaning of the ritual, and corrodes the richness of the concept. It is only via a comprehensive examination of the cumulative effect of the rites of passage that an accurate understanding of its function and operation may be achieved. Thus it is also with disciplinary power. As the reader reflects on the tactics presented, remember that it is their consolidation rather than their singularity which is ultimately essential in deconstructive reconstruction.

Exposure

Exposure is an environmental tactic, for it provides the context for the constant, omniscient gaze necessary for deconstructive reconstruction. It ensures the exhibition of

²⁷ Van Gennep, The Rites of Passage, pp.89.

the inmate in the most minute of details. It separates the inmate from any previous environment, and places him or her into a field facilitating comparison, thereby promoting and justifying its necessity. Ultimately, exposure segregates the inmate in an alien atmosphere, seeking to ensure that he or she is physically and emotionally in a marginal position, on the fringes of society, "betwixt-and-between established states of politico-jural structure...neither this-nor-that, here-nor-there, one-thing-not-the-other."²⁸

The ideal architecture of exposure is Bentham's Panopticon.²⁹ Structurally, the Panopticon allowed for a supervisor, located in the central tower, to observe others in the periphery of the building without himself being seen. The most important function of the Panopticon was its merciless use of the gaze, that perpetually disclosing surveillance. The architecture as lens provided both macro and micro-focus views, thereby ensuring an optimum effectiveness for the gaze. Interlinkages within the architecture provided an hierarchical network through which the gaze traversed. Individuals found themselves under the watchful eyes of "supervisors, perpetually supervised."³⁰ All was made visible, and it was through such visibility that the tyranny of the norm (those values promoted within the institution) was introduced and worked its way through the inmate body.

In a disciplinary institution, the architecture of

²⁸ Victor Turner, "Variations on a Theme of Liminality," in Secular Ritual, eds. Sally F. Moore, and Barbara G. Myerhoff (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp., 1977), p.37.

²⁹ An example developed by Foucault in a chapter entitled *Panopticism*, in Discipline and Punish, pp.195-228.

³⁰ Ibid., p.177.

exposure is manifested in two distinct, yet integrated, technologies: physical and administrative. Physically, exposure provides a structure, which, by its very presence serves to separate the inmate from the external environment. The construction of the physical architecture is designed to minimize inmate privacy within the institution: the structure is characterized by public spaces which enhance the visibility of the gaze. The physical structure is complemented by an administrative architecture, an organization of personnel designed to extend surveillance beyond what can be achieved by the structure of the building. These figures of authority are individuals whose identity has, in all probability, been reconstructed, so that it is synchronous with the knowledges (both content and process) promoted within the institution; such individuals are conduits of power.

Exposure enables and enhances the tactics of dispersion and investiture. The architecture established by exposure "operate[s] to transform individuals: to act on those it shelters, to provide a hold on their conduct, to carry the effects of power right to them, to make it possible to know them, to alter them."³¹ Thus, exposure is rooted in possibility, in potential, in what will be. It makes a knowledge of the inmate feasible. This knowledge, a personal inventory composed of the inmate's attitudes, characteristics, behaviours, and learnings, is subsequently acted upon to construct a new identity. Such directed action is a goal of deconstructive reconstruction and a central effect of power.

Knowing the foundation of exposure, how can a practical exploration of it proceed? An institutional apparatus must be identified. The apparatus is merely an

³¹ Foucault, Discipline and Punish, p.172.

environment designed to change (discipline) individuals through the construction of an inventory (identity). The architecture of the institution must be analyzed. As the visibility of the inmate is paramount, an understanding as to the means by which the institution facilitates surveillance is necessary. How is the gaze enhanced? What points of observation exist within? What means seek to ensure the constancy of the gaze? It is necessary to go beyond the physicality of the institution, and explore the functions of the individuals within. Do tangible patterns of supervision, conduits for the gaze, emerge? How do personal, or singular, functions enhance the efficacy of the gaze? And, as separation is a critical technology of exposure, some consideration as to its achievement is necessary. Is separation promoted by any activities which extend beyond the institution?

Dispersion

The tactic of dispersion can only be understood in relation to the tactic of investiture. Dispersion deconstructs as a necessary prerequisite for the reconstruction sought/wrought by investiture. Dispersion is fundamentally destructive; it is an erosive tactic. It seeks to reduce the inmate to a *tabula rasa* on (in) which the values of the institution may be subsequently etched.³² When successful, it achieves this through technologies of dependency, which culminate in a state of mind in the inmate which is unusually receptive to new ideas.³³ The efficacy of the technologies of dependency are enhanced by efforts which relate to the inmate as an object, as

³² Victor Turner, The Ritual Process, p.103.

³³ Spencer, "The Function of Ritual," pp. 137, 143.

something which may be acted upon and manipulated with impunity.

It is essential that dispersion culminate in the inmate's disorientation. This confusion is subsequently transformed into a willingness, and ultimately a desire, to conform to the values promoted within the institution; successful reconstruction depends on the emergence of this desire. Disorientation is sought via technologies of dependency. The inmate is placed in situations for which success depends on the knowledge of the authority and not the inmate. These situations are often profoundly emotional experiences, characterized by such reactions as bewilderment, discomfort, anxiety and awe. These responses encourage in the inmate the growth of insecurity, feelings of insignificance, and doubt in the adequacy of personal knowledge. As this servient attitude is heightened and maintained by an architecture of visibility, opportunities to resist, to be individualistic, are minimal.

Dispersion is characterized by both separation and transition. The centrifugal forces of the tactic serve to separate from the inmate those pre-institutional knowledges which may conflict with the creation of a willingness to conform. Dispersion is, however, more profoundly transitional, for it seeks to change the individual who entered the institution into an object, increasingly characterized by artificiality. As the tactic operates on the inmate, he or she is transformed into something less than a self-determining entity. Ultimately, the degree to which the inmate is made dependent, he or she is objectified.

As it seeks to deconstruct the inmate, to destruct what he or she may have been, dispersion is potentially explosive. To defuse the stress which accompanies dispersion, to alleviate the emotions which the subtle

violence of dispersion engenders, the inmate is granted certain freedoms.³⁴ The environment of deconstructive reconstruction spills into the external world. Observers willingly accept the inmate's strange behaviour, enhancing the values of the institution and the authorities within it.

An analysis of dispersion requires an identification of technologies of dependency. How do these emerge within the institution? In this context, the institutional architecture is important, for it promotes the inmate as something to be observed. Does this visibility enhance dependency? Is there anything else about the structure which may result in emotions tending to disorientation? Rituals and ceremonies are often used to create in the individual a receptive state of mind. Such important occasions must be identified. Are activities in place which seek to ensure the inmate's reliance on the authorities? Is the inmate treated as an object, as something which may act only in terms of what is deemed appropriate by others? Is it evident that the inmate's prior experiences/knowledges are in anyway devalued or ignored? Finally, were freedoms granted the individual during this period of intense separation which might suggest dispersion? What were they?

Investiture

The tactic of investiture is reconstructive, profoundly productive, paradoxical. It promotes independence via dependency; it constructs subjects via objectification; having supposedly revealed individuality, it seeks to impose homogeneity.

Investiture utilizes the inmate's dependent state of mind in an effort to ensure that he or she unquestioningly

³⁴ Van Gennep, The Rites of Passage, p.114.

accept and ultimately internalize the values promoted within the institution.³⁵ Thus the product of successful deconstructive reconstruction is inherently artificial. However, it is an artificiality masked in technologies which promote the subjectivity of the inmate. Investiture seeks to ensure that the inmate acts, of his or her own accord, to draw his or her inventory closer to that promoted within the institution. Thus, investiture is rooted in self-determination, in independence, but only within the artificial context of the institution. Ultimately, investiture is a reductive process, minimalist in intent: it seeks to unify singularity, to reduce multiplicities.

The concept of the norm is crucial to an understanding of deconstructive reconstruction, and particularly the tactic of investiture. What is deemed normal is that which is valued within the reconstructed identity, that which promotes one's success within the institution. It is a value judgement cloaked in terms of necessity and desirability. The norm "function[s] as a minimal threshold, as an average to be respected or as an optimum towards which one must move."³⁶ As norms shape the identities of inmates, they can be seen as ritualistic, instruments serving a conservative, traditionalising function.³⁷ Illuminating, and subsequently directing inmate action in a conventional direction, the norm is therefore a tool of control, solidifying existing structures of power. It seeks to perpetuate social relationships (both within, and

³⁵ Moore and Myerhoff, "Introduction: Secular Ritual," pp.3-4.

³⁶ Ibid., p.183.

³⁷ Moore and Myerhoff, "Introduction: Secular Ritual," pp.5,7.

subsequently, outside the institution) by constructing individuals in terms of what is appropriate within the institution. The norm works its way through the inmates by acting on differences illuminated within individual inventories, in an effort to reduce them. Such homogeneity, embedded in docility and utility, is the essence of disciplinary power.

Investiture is centripetal, for it infuses the individual with certain knowledges. An appreciation of investiture is somewhat obscured by the faith modern society places in knowledge and credential. It is within the context of this knowledge fetishism that the full impact of the strategy of deconstructive reconstruction lucidly emerges. From "the truth shall set you free," to "I think, therefore I am," western society has beholden knowledge reverently as the great liberator. Assuredly, all are encouraged to believe, accumulation begets emancipation. Does it? Plato indicated that certain knowledges potentially confine, while Rousseau proclaimed that man is born free, and then placed in chains. Might knowledge be one of those social constructions, a restraint which binds and seeks to determine?³⁸

In the context of the disciplinary institution, is it possible that knowledge about, and possessed by, the inmate facilitates his or her harmonious placement and efficiency within the institution? Arguably, knowledge entangles the inmate in the sticky web of the institution, from which escape would require a capacity of knowledge many are without, and an act of will many are not prepared to exert.

³⁸ Foucault suggests that knowledge turns the individual into a case, which may then be compared to other such cases, in an effort to differentiate, hierarchize and, ultimately, to homogenize individuals. Discipline and Punish, p.183.

Within the operation of power, this quest for intimate knowledge, this will to know, is an unquenchable thirst, which multiple technologies attempt to satiate. Power thrives on such innermost details; the manipulation of the latter is the exercise of the former.

Thus, an analysis of investiture must not be retarded by a rather misleading concern with the creative propensities of power. Rather, the costs of that creation must be the focus. The force of power rests substantially in its ability to mask those costs, to convince the individual that the rewards of reconstruction eclipse that which might be sacrificed. In fact, power seeks to remove that relationship of rewards and losses as an issue at all. The exercise of power has proved triumphant when the individual accepts the desirability/necessity of his or her new identity, demands he or she be successful within the institution, and then acts to realize it.

Investiture serves both transitional and incorporative ends. It is transitional in two fundamental ways. It serves to ensure that the objectified individual is convinced of the subjectivity of his or her actions and choices. Investiture transforms the individual into a subject who acts upon the self, others, and his or her environment to ensure harmony with the institution. The inmate synchronizes his or her inventory according to the authorities' demands. Such an outcome requires that the individual be convinced that he or she consists of -- actually *is* -- the inventory. The inmate as subject is then acting in what is believed to be his or her best interests.³⁹

³⁹ As van Gennep notes, "the term 'twice-born' clearly indicates the true role of rites of passage...." The Rites of Passage, p.105.

Investiture also manifests another form of transition, one in which the individual passes into a state of artificiality.⁴⁰ When the tactic is successful, the inmate internalizes a process of objectification, accepting it as a valid and appropriate method for developing the self. An identity rooted in the values of the institution thus blooms.

Investiture is also vitally incorporative for the reconstruction of investiture is based on the values necessary for both success in, and the maintenance of, the institution. Herein lies the importance of the examination (the knowledges it promotes), an intense and effective technology of deconstructive reconstruction.⁴¹ The examination is designed not only to determine what the inmate knows, but to indicate to him or her what must be known. The process of the examination objectifies the inmate (the inmate is what he or she knows *vis a vis* what is valued within the institution), just as it convinces the

⁴⁰ Again, by artificial, I simply mean that the individual has accepted the values/norms and the tactics/technologies of the institution, and has come to define him or her self by them. This is artificial because those values and tactics have been created/determined by other individuals. They are without *inherent* significance. In this context of artificiality, though, it may be more appropriate to speak in terms of a *continuum*, rather than in that of *either/or*. Individuals regularly confront values created, and tactics exercised by others, and generally negotiate them through (sometimes) judicious consideration. I would suggest, however, that the degree to which one accepts and internalizes the values and tactics promoted within the institution, is the degree to which he or she is artificial.

⁴¹ I am not simply referring to the examination in a limited sense, of the testing for written knowledge which is traditionally found at the end of a course. Rather, I am speaking more of the constant evaluation of inmate effort and ability that is part of an institutional experience.

person of his or her subjectivity (the inmate can act to improve that realm of knowledge, his or her success), while simultaneously reducing differences between inmates. And, via the demonstration of appropriate personal knowledge, the examination also indicates one's incorporation.

Similarly important to investiture is the institutional function of bonding, a technology which enhances the efficacy of deconstructive reconstruction. Groups are commanding motivational forces, and within institutions their creation and promotion are often prominent. Well defined groups allow intimate relationships to emerge.⁴² These relationships develop as the roots from which group commitment flowers.⁴³ The flower is ultimately one of desire, for an intensified sense of belonging encourages a desire to conform, to obey.⁴⁴ Potent peer pressures urge the inmate to work towards fulfilling the institutional goals so as not to disappoint fellow inmates. Bonding creates a shared consciousness, thereby sharpening the inmate's desire to act in an appropriate manner.

An analysis of investiture will require both a study of the reconstructed inventory which the tactic seeks to invest in the inmate, and, more importantly, of the technologies which promote that acceptance. How is the individual made a willing participant in his or her normalization, in the reconstruction of identity? How is it

⁴² David Berg and Kenywn Smith, "Paradoxes and Groups," in Groups in Context: A New Perspective on Group Dynamics, eds. Jonathan Gillette and Marion McCollom (Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1990), p.115.

⁴³ Marion McCollom, "Group Formation: Boundaries, Leadership and Culture," in Groups in Context, pp.38, 40.

⁴⁴ John Houston, Motivation (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1985), pp.289-301.

that the inmate is made to enhance characteristics of his or her inventory which are desired within the institution? Rewards are utilized as forceful corrective techniques, used to draw the individual, or more accurately, his or her inventory, closer to the norm. What rewards are offered, and for what achievements are they given? Are some rewards, and thus achievements, more valued than others? Is there a similar ranking for punishment? An investigation of what investiture seeks to remove is also of value in determining what was deemed to be of value. Thus, an analysis of penalties (which indicate undesirable elements of an inventory) can also be revealing. Certainly the words and actions of those authority figures through whom investiture operates can also serve to illuminate the tactic. The examination, as noted, is a primary technique of investiture. What types of knowledges does it legitimate? What type of bonding is promoted? How is it facilitated?

An analysis of the operation of these tactics demonstrates their efficacy in the exercise of disciplinary power. Exposure separates by constructing the environment within which dispersion and investiture may be most forcefully exercised. Dispersion continues that separation, disorients and generates dependency. It objectifies, creating a case of the individual. The target is measured, deconstructed with deficiencies exposed and primed for rectification, and spaces revealed awaiting occupation. Once the individual is placed, as a case, into a field of cases, facilitating and justifying comparison, the transition to "subject" has begun, and dispersion gives way to investiture. As the individual's new identity is established, investiture is revealed as reconstructive and incorporative in intent. It draws the willing target, in all his or her exposed glory, closer to those norms deemed

necessary for efficient existence within the institution. This pull rapidly attains a non-quantitative function, in essence, becoming a value judgement. The force of the norm is evident. Its intensity is its capacity for production, its efficacy in creating an artificial "individual", who may be successful and content in the role for which he or she was constructed.

Unexpectedly, however, the productive forces of power is also destructive. Seductive, pleasurable, and often overwhelming, are the rewards of deconstructive reconstruction. The individual may well be cognizant of the operation of the forces upon him or her, and still to choose to allow them to play their course, simply to partake of those rewards.⁴⁵ Indeed, one goal of disciplinary power is to ensure that all choose to seek those rewards. However, while the rewards are seductive, they are also fatal, for that process by which one is normalized, is that one by which he or she is erased.

Graphically, if the individual is pictured as a point, deconstructive reconstruction can be visualized as an operation of ever-increasing circles, spiralling until the point is no more, having vanished into the values of the institution. The ripple is dissipated, the potential disturbance subdued. Successful normalization, effective deconstructive reconstruction, thus renders individuality meaningless; that which creates is that which destroys. The individual is merely a reality fabricated by the exercise of disciplinary power.⁴⁶ The potency and vitality of

⁴⁵ Does personal choice which results in artificiality reflect the victory of power? Or, is it a tactic of negotiation on the part of the individual which, as a personal choice, resists power? This issue is subsequently addressed in the study.

⁴⁶ Foucault, Discipline and Punish, p.194.

disciplinary power rests in the concealment of this fact. Ironically, given the singular function of the gaze in the exercise of disciplinary power, the perilousness of power thus rests in what is not exposed.

The method of deconstructive reconstruction which has been outlined in this chapter is one which could conceivably be applied to any disciplinary institution, any physical environment which seeks to construct identity, to discipline the individual. Chapter Four outlines the specific use of deconstructive reconstruction in this study. It will demonstrate how that method can, and will, be used to critique the normal school in Alberta, and the creation of teacher identity which it facilitated.

CHAPTER 4

FOUNDATIONS

INTRODUCTION

The institution which is the subject of this study is the normal school, the most significant teacher training institution in Alberta for a considerable part of the first half of the twentieth century. The function of this chapter is to more readily acquaint the reader with the normal school and its function, particularly by sketching its historical roots. Hopefully, such a contextual exploration augments the reader's ability to judiciously consider the application of the method of deconstructive reconstruction which follows.

The chapter concludes with some further reflections on the appropriateness, indeed the need, for a different type of investigation of the normal school, one rooted less in chronological narrative and more in analytical theory. It provides a suitable transition into the subsequent exploration of the Alberta normal school.

SETTING THE STAGE: TRADITIONS OF TEACHER TRAINING

The normal school which emerged in Alberta in 1906 had a tradition which was every much as foundational as the cement which supported the bricks of the imposing institution. What was that foundation, the tradition which assisted in defining the normal school as it came to be in the first decade of the twentieth century in Alberta?

An exploration of the normal school tradition necessitates travelling east, to Manitoba of the 1880's and Canada West of the 1840's and 1850's. The journey continues across the Atlantic Ocean to Ireland of the years preceding the great Famine. The trek stops, and begins on the

continent, in pre-Revolutionary France. This itinerary reveals much of the normal school, of its traditions of separation, homogenization and control. It identifies an institution originally characterized by the segregation of inmates from the general population. Thus isolated, inmates were under the surveillance, and subject to the direction, of a body of experts whose authority initially flowed from the church and later the state. Success in teacher training depended on the acceptance and internalization of the body of knowledge promoted by this authority group.¹ Historically, then, efforts were made in an attempt to ensure that teacher trainees in normal schools were products of the unifying culture of that institution.

France

It has been argued that Jean-Baptiste de la Salle, founder of the Christian Brothers in France, established the earliest professional school for the training of teachers.² At the turn of the eighteenth century, calls which promoted the education of the poor were gaining popular support. The ordinances of Louis XIV required universal elementary education, and the church supported his demands.³ The major obstacle to common education was the dearth of teachers. It

¹ Such knowledge was not limited by parochial considerations of content. Indeed, the knowledge mastered by normal school students was dominated by matters of attitude, behaviour and methodology.

² Jean-Baptiste de la Salle, Conduite des ecoles, trans. and intro. F. De la Fontainerie (1720; reprint ed., New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1935), p.15.

³ R.R. Palmer, The Improvement of Humanity: Education and the French Revolution (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1985), p.9.

was in this context that la Salle established his first teacher training college. Between 1687 and 1709, he launched three such institutions.⁴

La Salle relied on his own formal structure for teacher training. Its socle was the isolation and unification of those preparing to teach. He wrote that laymen trainees were instructed

in a house separate from the community... which is called a seminary. Those who are trained there remain only a few years until they are fully prepared both with regard to piety and their work. They are taught singing, reading and writing perfectly. They have board and lodging and laundry free.... They wear no other dress than that which is used for seculars, except that it is black or dark brown, and they are in no way distinguished from ordinary folk but for their collar, and their hair which they wear short.⁵

Although the training institutions were called seminaries, any religious function was peripheral, usually manifested as support for the local priest once the trainee was hired as a teacher. Only those applicants who demonstrated good aptitude and conduct were admitted to la Salle's seminaries. Those successful were subject to a rigorous and defined day.

Rising was at 4:30 a.m., retiring at 9 p.m. The day was divided up between prayers, spiritual reading, the examination of conscience, and the studies pertaining to their professional duties, that is to say,

⁴ Unless otherwise cited, information on la Salle comes from W.J. Battersby, De La Salle: A Pioneer of Modern Education (Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1949). See particularly Chapter IX Training Colleges, pp.103-124.

⁵ W.J. Battersby, ed., De La Salle: Letters and Documents (W.J. Battersby. Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1952), pp.241, 243.

they learnt reading, writing, arithmetic, and plain-chant, at stated times. Silence and reserve were practised as much there as with the Brothers.⁶

The professional studies included both methodological and philosophical components. Trainees were required to create and give model lessons to a class of their peers. Such lessons were criticized by the novice's instructor, an individual who had received specialized training from la Salle himself. Trainees also had to master la Salle's own manual on school management, The Conduct of Schools.⁷

Initially, la Salle personally supervised the training of the student teachers. In later years, he transferred supervisory duties to those of his congregation he deemed most responsible. The structure of la Salle's teacher training operation was thoroughly hierarchical. Not surprisingly, then, obedience was a very important precept to his understanding of education. Battersby writes that "It was a cardinal principle with him [la Salle] that, in a class, the teacher's authority, reasonably understood, should be unquestioned."⁸ Such an attitude undoubtedly represented a confluence of la Salle's religious and secular understandings: knowledge, and the authority who possessed it, were to be unquestioned.

Ireland

Just over a century later, Ireland was faced with an

⁶ J.B. Blain, as cited in Battersby, De La Salle: A Pioneer of Modern Education, p.108.

⁷ Battersby, De La Salle: A Pioneer of Modern Education.

⁸ Ibid., p.113.

educational problem similar to that which had dogged la Salle's France. Though the rationale for educating the poor was different in Ireland than in France, by the early nineteenth century it had become desirable to implement some scheme of national education, which could address what was considered to be, by some, the ignorance of the poor.⁹ This need gave rise to the Board of Commissioners of Education, known colloquially as the National Board.

In 1834, the National Board opened a co-educational model school, the Dublin Model School.¹⁰ The school soon

⁹ Norman Atkinson, Irish Education: A History of Educational Institutions (Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1969), pp.65, 68. This desire largely reflected Anglican concerns with the new found power of Roman Catholics. Within little more than a generation, large numbers of Catholics were liberated from the fetters of the Penal Laws (exclusion from civil service positions), and subsequently emancipated (allowed to sit in the British Parliament). Marie and Conor Cruise O'Brien, A Concise History of Ireland (1972; reprint ed., London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), pp.77-9, 101-02. Urgent was the necessity to contain and direct potentially rebellious Catholic sentiment.

¹⁰ Prior to this, Ireland had been witness to only one significant effort to systematically train teachers. This was the Dublin Model School (established 1816) of the Kildare Place Society (established 1811), an Anglican, and to a lesser extent, Catholic organization. The Society was designed to avoid denominational influences. In 1832, when the National Board was established, the Kildare Place Society lost its government funding, and the Dublin Model School was eventually taken over by the National Board. It should also be noted that in Ireland, at this time, teacher training was received in institutions called model, rather than normal, schools. Donald Akenson, The Irish Educational Experiment: The National System of Education in the Nineteenth Century (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p.71; Paul Moore, gen. ed., A Cyclopedia of Education, 5 vols. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913), vol. 4: Model School, uncited, p.279.

became the centrepiece of a national teacher training system, established in 1848. District model schools were organized throughout rural Ireland. Trainees were initially instructed at these institutions. Following this rural instruction, and after two subsequent years of teaching and additional coursework, some of the most promising teachers graduated to the Dublin Model School, for a further intensive three month course. The National Board paid for all capital expenses. This resulted in one of the most prominent features of the system: the National Board, rather than local patrons, controlled the model schools, and the activities within. Trainees would also be lodged and boarded at the commissioners' expense (men at the model school, and women in the community).¹¹

The model schools were designed to promote 'united education,' to exhibit the most improved methods of literary and scientific instruction for the surrounding schools, and to train young persons for the office of teacher in the national schools.¹²

Each rural model school could train only three male teachers and one female teacher.¹³ The limited numbers imply rigid selection criteria. Instruction revolved around a combination of practice teaching and a study of texts written by the commissioners. The training was to be provided by laymen, particularly without the supervision of the Roman Catholic church. Indeed, religious commentary was to be kept at a minimum within the institutions, a reflection of the desire to limit denominational influences in the national system. It

¹¹ Akenson, The Irish Educational Experiment, pp.147-8.

¹² uncited, Model School, p.279. The schools of the National Board were initially non-denominational.

¹³ Akenson, The Irish Educational Experiment, p.148.

was a limitation cloaked in shifting official terminology: religious education became moral education, with precepts rooted in less dogmatic expressions of Christianity.¹⁴

Canada West

When Egerton Ryerson became Superintendent of Education for Canada West in 1844, he set about establishing a consolidated state educational system. The system which emerged replaced the various diverse educational traditions which had existed in the early nineteenth century.¹⁵ The new hegemony became known as public education. Among its founding principles were that it be free, universal, compulsory, and guided by Christian values. While public education may have been informed by humanitarian and/or capitalistic concerns, arguably its essential function was organizational. It operated to structure the way people thought so that their actions could be (pre)determined/predicted.¹⁶ Those thoughts and actions generally reflected the interests of the nationalistic, middle class school promoters.¹⁷ The success of public education depended upon the degree to which the numerous tactics which supported it were accepted by the

¹⁴ Ibid., p.211; Atkinson, Irish Education, p.98.

¹⁵ For an analysis of this process see, R.D. Gidney, and W.P.J. Millar, Inventing Secondary Education: The Rise of the High School in Nineteenth Century Ontario (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), particularly Chapter 2, "Patterns of Educational Provision in Upper Canada".

¹⁶ K. Tony Hollihan, "The Common School: An Organizational Apparatus", in Educational Issues: Differences and Common Understandings in a Pluralist Society, compiled by P.T. Rooke, and D. Schugurensky (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1994), pp.2-3.

¹⁷ Alison Prentice, The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977).

general public. Among those tactics could be found state supervision of teachers.

In preparing to construct this system, Ryerson travelled throughout Europe and studied various national educational systems. When he considered the organization of teacher training, he relied heavily on the Irish system, which considerably impressed him.¹⁸ Ryerson began to implement public schooling with the Common School Act of 1846. The importance of teacher training may be measured by its inclusion in this Act, the first significant piece of legislation to deal specifically with public education in Canada West. The Act sought to improve the quality of teaching by centralizing teacher certification, supervision and inspection, and also by establishing normal school training.

Within the normal school, consideration was given to practical teaching skills which could increase the teacher's classroom efficiency. However, the dominant emphasis was on the moral and social behaviour of students.¹⁹ The normal school achieved this by subjecting

students to a process meant to implant in them the habits, skills, and the character structure appropriate to the morally forceful teacher.... The atmosphere of the Normal

¹⁸ Robert J. Carney, "Going to School in Upper Canada," in Canadian Education: Historical Themes and Contemporary Issues, ed. E. Brian Titley (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1990), p.34. The prominent institution in Ryerson's system, however, was not called a model school, but a normal school (though, in fact, a model school was in operation prior to the establishment of a normal school). While the normal school in Canada West provided a more intensive training than did the model school, more teachers were trained at the latter institution.

¹⁹ Ibid., p.39.

School...was one of intense moral regulation.²⁰

This drive to morality reflected the continuing transition from the religious impulses, which informed previous manifestations of teacher training, to the moral (Christian) values which increasingly originated from the middle class school promoters.

To ensure the proper development of moral character, separation and surveillance emerged as paramount. These strictures enhanced the growth of an homogeneous normal school culture, controlled by, and reflecting, the overriding moral considerations of the institution. Character certificates were necessary for admission.²¹ Students were to dress with good taste and ensure their possessions were kept in an orderly fashion.²² Social intercourse between the sexes was to be kept at a minimum. The gaze of the normal school extended into the students' home life. Boarding rooms were licensed by the Normal School, and licensees participated in the regulation of student behaviour.

Manitoba

As immigrants from Canada West made their way west, settled in their chosen location, and began to carve out a life, their thoughts soon turned to issues beyond mere survival. They began to establish institutions which added to their quality of life. Generally, one of the first institutions to receive their attention was an educational system. Not surprisingly, when these immigrants began to

²⁰ Bruce Curtis, Building the Educational State: Canada West 1836-1871 (London: The Althouse Press, 1988), p.246.

²¹ Carney, "Going to School in Upper Canada," p.39.

²² These final points are raised by Curtis, Building the Educational State, p.251; pp.246-48.

construct such a system, they built on what they knew. For most of them, that meant using the Canada West educational system as a foundation. Indeed, so prominent were the links to this system, that it has been argued that "educational development in the west was, generally, in the Ryerson tradition."²³

An exploration of these educational developments is most satisfactorily achieved by examining the contributions of D.J. Goggin. Goggin's early educational formation had taken place largely within the context of Canada West's Ryersonian system. His experiences culminated in the principalship of a model school in that province. He arrived in Winnipeg in the early 1880's, and was appointed principal of the Winnipeg Normal School²⁴, which was under the auspices of the Protestant section of the Manitoba Board of Education.²⁵ Goggin's belief in the value of education to the community influenced his teacher training perspectives:

Good schools can only be produced by efficient

²³ Alan H. Child, "The Ryerson Tradition in Western Canada, 1871-1906," in Egerton Ryerson and His Times, eds. Neil McDonald and Alf Chaiton (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1978), p.281.

²⁴ Neil McDonald, "Canadian Nationalism and the Northwest Schools, 1884-1905," in Education in Canada: An Interpretation, eds. E. Brian Titley and Peter J. Miller (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited, 1982), p.128; and Neil McDonald, "David J. Goggin, Promoter of National Schools," in Profiles of Canadian Educators, eds. R.J. Patterson et al (Canada: D.C. Heath, Ltd., 1974), p.167.

²⁵ In 1871, legislation was passed which created a governmentally appointed Board of Education, composed of an equal number of Protestants and Catholics, each with jurisdiction over their respective schools. In 1882, further legislation was passed enabling each section of the Board to establish their own normal schools. Alexander Gregor and Keith Wilson, The Development of Education in Manitoba (Dubuque: Kendal/Hunt Publishing Company, 1984), pp.31, 33-34.

teachers and the efficiency of the teacher depends upon his knowledge of the art which he practises, and of the science which underlines it. This knowledge he must obtain either by experiment or special training. Special training will put him, at the very beginning of his career, where he could only have come after years of effort and mistake if left to himself, - his pupils being his victims in the meantime. Normal schools are established to give this training and thus save the community from the evils of malpractice.²⁶

Goggin believed that the responsibility of teachers required that they each have a properly formed Christian morality. This formation was promoted by a dependency on the authority of eminent educators from the past.²⁷ Surveillance and separation were also foundational tactics in achieving the proper character, as is evident from 1883 regulations of the Winnipeg Normal School.

The students in training shall be required during the session, to place themselves under the care of one of the clergymen having pastoral charge in the city, to board only at such places as may be approved by the Superintendent, and to be faithful and punctual in the discharge of all their duties.²⁸

Obedience was imbedded in Goggin's idea of teacher training.

Northwest Territories

In the 1890's Goggin was lured further west. In 1893 he was hired as Superintendent of Education in the Northwest

²⁶ D.J. Goggin, cited in Ibid., p.39.

²⁷ R.J. Carney and H.W. Hodysh, "History of Education and the Rite of Passage to Teaching: The Alberta Experience 1893-1945," The Alberta Journal of Educational Research XL,1 (March, 1994): 241-42.

²⁸ Ibid., p.42.

Territories, a position which made him the Principal of Normal Schools, an institution which he substantially created.²⁹ It mostly mirrored the training program he had developed in Manitoba.³⁰

Only months before his appointment, the School Ordinance of 1892 had wrested control of educational matters from the churches, and placed them within the purview of the state. Goggin was hired to administer this nascent educational bureaucracy. He had a degree of control new to his experience: Goggin was in a position to put the Ryersonian principle of total unity into effect.

Within months of his appointment, Goggin was influential in having passed a government regulation which made teacher training compulsory. Thus, the tradition which usually saw only those individuals with academic training as teachers came to an abrupt halt.³¹ Goggin also devised the normal

²⁹ Practices of teacher training existed in the Northwest Territories prior to the arrival of Goggin. In the 1880's requirements for teacher's certificates were minimal; one merely had to display evidence of scholarship, or successful teaching experience. By 1890, teacher training was offered at high schools, and conducted by inspectors, in both Regina and Moosomin. However, such courses were not compulsory, and attendance was dismal. The Board of Education also offered to teach such courses in Alberta, but no students applied. See Alphonse D. Selinger, "The Contribution of D.J. Goggin to the Development of Education in the North-West Territories 1893-1902" (M.Ed. thesis, University of Alberta, 1962), pp.13-15; and George Mann, "Alberta Normal Schools: A Descriptive Study of Their Development, 1905-1945" (M.Ed. thesis, University of Alberta, 1961), pp.19-20.

³⁰ Carney and Hodysh, "History of Education," p.41.

³¹ Selinger, "The Contribution of D.J. Goggin," pp.25, 31; and Mann, "Alberta Normal Schools," pp.20-1. The tradition continued on to some extent at the secondary level, a realm generally outside the purview of normal school training (certainly in the latter decades of its operation).

curriculum, which emphasized the value of knowledge of subject matter, particularly those subjects which hastened Anglo-conformity, and character formation.³² This was further reflected in his efforts to ensure that normal instructors were experts in the subject they taught.³³ With his emphasis on national unity (an expression of a middle class, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant ethos) Goggin believed that it was imperative to ensure uniform training for all teachers. Such a conformity would reduce any desire on the part of the teacher to be original: education should "give the student a practical preparation for life by moulding his character and inculcating sound principles." Given the importance of the citizenry in guaranteeing the greatness of a nation, debates as to character and principle were not appropriate.³⁴

By the time Goggin was replaced as Principal of the Normal School in late 1902, many of the technologies of teacher training which would be found in the normal schools of Alberta were in place.³⁵ Academic, age and moral character requirements were established.³⁶ All applications had to be processed by the Department of Education, which also established examination regulations. Extra-curricular activities became more standard fare. Supplementing this

³² McDonald, "David J. Goggin," p.179; Carney and Hodysh, "History of Teacher Education," pp.41-2. It is unlikely that the previous, haphazard teacher training system (which rested on short, optional courses by inspectors) was systematically organized.

³³ Selinger, "The Contribution of D.J. Goggin," pp.28, 29-30.

³⁴ McDonald, "David J. Goggin," pp.180-1.

³⁵ Selinger, "The Contribution of D.J. Goggin," p.37-41; and Mann, "Alberta Normal School," p.21-2.

³⁶ Mann, "Alberta Normal Schools," p.22.

increasing staff intrusion into non-academic situations was the necessity for normal school approval of boarding houses. Certification requirements, including the length of the normal session, were identically reproduced in 1906.³⁷ The normal school tradition had established a certain legacy which became part of Alberta teacher training.

It is evident that the teacher training tradition which informed the normal school as it emerged in Alberta was historically characterized by the separation and close observation of individuals within a defined physical environment. It was a process initially rooted in a religious imperative, but one which increasingly came under the purview of the state. However, even as this transition of the control of teacher training occurred, the moral impulse, originally so important to teacher training, remained prominent. The knowledge on which practices of teacher training existed rested on a clearly defined relationship of obedience between instructor and student. These factors enhanced the efforts of teacher trainers to create the identity of those inmates subject to their authority.

TEACHER TRAINING AND CANADIAN EDUCATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

To complete this transition between the development of a method of deconstructive reconstruction, and its specific application, it is appropriate to comment on the need for such a study vis a vis the state of Canadian educational historiography. My desire to pursue a theoretical analysis of the workings of the normal school reflects certain limitations in some of the efforts of contemporary Canadian educational history. As educational historian Robert

³⁷ Ibid., pp.26-7.

Patterson has argued, a numbing complacency, a restraining stagnancy, generally characterizes the historiography of teacher training. In a similarly critical vein, educational historian Robert Carney has reflected on the recent paucity of historical studies which explore what might be called the culture of the classroom, the internal workings of the school. I will comment briefly on both of these observations, as they have not only informed my decision to proceed with this study, but they also lend credence to it.

In the 1983 McCalla Lecture, entitled "Go, Grit and Gumption: A Normal School Perspective on Teacher Education," Patterson used the analogy of a map to explore the contemporary condition of scholarship on the history of teacher education in Alberta.³⁸ Patterson contends that the map which dominates our understanding in this matter locks us into one way of viewing the world of education, and, subsequently, teacher education.³⁹ It is a map, he suggests, which has generally resulted in a history of teacher training which

...would cover, in not too critical a fashion, the number of teachers prepared, the issues faced such as preparing teachers for rural communities or for instruction at all grade levels or for new curricula and the relationship of these developments to conditions elsewhere and to the personnel involved in the various activities.⁴⁰

Patterson notes that there are various commanding reasons for

³⁸ Robert S. Patterson, "Go, Grit and Gumption: A Normal School Perspective on Teacher Education," The McCalla Lecture (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1983). Patterson chooses not to differentiate between teacher education and teacher training as I have done in this study.

³⁹ Ibid., p.2.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p.3.

a reluctance to plot, and be guided by a different map. Foremost, is the reality that "Deviance threatens the system.... Those accustomed to the established order generally find such conduct disruptive, dysfunctional, and even painful."⁴¹ 'Those accustomed to the established order' are generally those who have succeeded within it, who have some stake -- whose authority rests -- in the continued use of a familiar map. The essence of Patterson's challenge is to shake this hegemony, to promote the construction of a map different from the one which currently guides our historical interpretations of teacher education.

As he segued from his challenge to an example, from words to action, he began, "Consider as the basis of an alternative perspective for judging what has been accomplished in public education and teacher preparation...."⁴² For the purpose of my study, the content of his example is less significant than the opportunity he provides. In the words of Patterson, 'consider as the basis for an alternative perspective' deconstructive reconstruction. It is a map which I have constructed which will hopefully allow for the exploration of new routes, the discovery of new meanings, the disruption of comfortable tradition.

In a particularly biting critique of the state of educational historiography in Canada in the mid-1980's, educational historian Robert Carney attacks the failings of numerous contemporary educational histories. Amongst the limitations of these studies, Carney considers prominent a failure to address, "if not ignore, schooling processes...the

⁴¹ Ibid, pp.2-3.

⁴² Ibid, p.6.

internal culture of schools."⁴³ Recent histories have been characterized by efforts which suggest the historian's desire "to avoid historical inquiry into the practice of the schools."⁴⁴ Indeed, the emergent radical revisionist approach, which Carney argues is at the root of these developments (or lack thereof), has encouraged historians to look beyond the school, to examine it as a manifestation of other social, political and historical forces. The emphasis of study has been the latter forces rather than the former; educational history has succeeded in marginalizing the school.

Given the nature of his article, Carney did not address the matter of teacher training. Even if the article had been more broadly cast, it is unlikely he would have broached the subject, for teacher training, in Alberta particularly, has not been subject to the scrutiny of the radical revisionist. As has been noted in the bibliographical portion of this study, teacher training studies are generally chronological, empirical, and whiggish.⁴⁵ This study, then, emerges at a time when there is a significant window of opportunity. It is an opportunity grasped. The study is engaged in an exploration of how individuals in normal schools experienced teacher training. By examining the internal practices of the normal school which established the boundaries of that experience,

⁴³ Robert J. Carney, "Towards a History of Schooling," Curriculum Inquiry 14:3 (1984), p.353.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p.355.

⁴⁵ It must be noted, however, that Carney himself, in conjunction with Henry Hodysh, has recently researched and published an article on teacher training in Alberta which can hardly be characterized by any of these adjectives. Utilizing van Gennep's model, the article is revisionist without overly focusing on forces external to the normal school. Carney and Hodysh, "History of Education and the Rite of Passage to Teaching: The Alberta Experience 1893-1945," The Alberta Journal of Educational Research XL:1 (March, 1994).

whilst avoiding a whiggish interpretation of the role of the institution, this study transcends Carney's criticism.

Generally familiar with teacher training efforts to the turn of the twentieth century, and the need for a new and different approach for understanding teacher training, it is now appropriate to explore that process in the province of Alberta, to apply the method of deconstructive reconstruction to the normal schools of the province. The exploration begins with a brief summary as to what Alberta's normal school administrators believed to be the function of those institutions. As will become evident, it was a function rooted in the structuring propensities of disciplinary power.

CHAPTER 5
THE TACTIC OF EXPOSURE

INTRODUCTION¹

The teacher...believes in Man. He believes that the institutions set up by Man can direct his civilization. He, therefore, believes in the school.

G.S. Lord
Principal, Edmonton Normal School²

[Within the Camrose Normal School the] permanent construction of building human lives and characters went on, and not only human lives, but a state, a society, and a nationality.

J.C. Miller
Director of Technical Education³

Normal administrators believed in the efficacy of the normal school. As C. Sansom, one time Principal of the Edmonton Normal School, and long time instructor, argued, the demands of teacher training were best met by *five or six years of preparation for educational work made up of four years of academic training in a college and the rest of the time devoted to the intensive study of the history, theory, practice, principles, and philosophy of education in an adequately staffed and equipped normal*

¹ This introduction is designed to introduce the reader to the application of the three tactics of exposure, dispersion and investiture to the Alberta normal schools; it is not meant to apply only to exposure. Similarly, the conclusion in Chapter Seven also addresses the use of the three tactics, and not merely investiture. I would also like to reiterate (as stated in Chapter One) that the chronological boundaries of the study are 1906 and 1941.

² ENSYB, 1936-37, p.11. NSF, PAA 72.298-2. See Appendix I for a list of normal school principals.

³ CC, October 14, 1915. Miller was the first principal of the Camrose Normal School.

*school or teachers' college....*⁴

Sansom, reflecting the sentiment of other instructors and administrators, was confident that the normal school could best fulfil this function. If, indeed, the normal school did realize this purpose, what exactly did it achieve?

At the most obvious level, the normal school trained teachers. In 1917, G.F. McNally, Principal of the Camrose Normal School, reflected on this mission.

The specific task of the Normal School...is the preparation of teachers for rural schools.... The Normal School regards as one of its most important functions the training [sic] these people in such a way that they may adapt themselves to rural conditions and be happy doing so. The courses definitely aim to prepare students for the physical and social conditions which they will find in the country and to suggest means for bettering those conditions in such a way as to make life on the farm permanently satisfying to intelligent, progressive people.

Addressing the role of the teacher in such an environment, McNally continued,

*Rural teachers must lead first of all in a better way of teaching. Instead of teaching in such a way as to glorify other occupations and fields of service they must make the girls and boys realize the full, rich possibilities of life on the farm. They must make the school a social centre by first socializing the school itself and then extend their influence to the community generally by leading in such organizations as are best adapted to the needs of the community. The Normal School which does its full duty must inspire its graduates to the successful rendering of this service.*⁵

⁴ C. Sansom, "The Training of Teachers" ATA Magazine, v.8 #5 (December 1927), p.9. Though Sansom agreed that there were problems with the normal school, such as overcrowding and term length, he believed that the normal school was a far better environment for teacher training than the university. In the latter institution, he argued, professional matters of teaching were likely to suffer at the hands of research interests. See part one of the article in the ATA Magazine, v.8 #4 (November, 1927).

⁵ NSAR, 1917, p.33.

Twenty years later, the function of the normal school, and the role of the teacher it trained, were recast.

*During the last fifteen years, there have been many changes in education, especially in the Province of Alberta. A new "activity" or "enterprise" programme has been introduced into the Elementary school, involving a new concept of teaching.... It is the primary function of the Normal School to train oncoming teachers in the philosophy and practice of the new procedures....*⁶

Through the various modifications in education, and the shifting purpose of the normal school, the sentiment of G.K. Haverstock, Principal of the Camrose Normal School, arguably remained true.

*A student, in addition to making a good showing in practice teaching, must be able to apply himself from day to day to the routine work of the school, must be able to show that he has the ability and the attitude to grasp the principles and technique of teaching, and also that sense of responsibility and strength that makes him a desirable individual to be the director of the learning processes of young children.*⁷

Presumably, these characteristics, so desirable in the normalite, mirrored those necessary for the good teacher: pedagogical ability, and moral mentorship.

However, there existed, at a subterranean level, a discourse on teacher training, and the role of the institution in that process, which bespoke the very essence of power. Teacher training, and its physical environment, the normal school, were designed to structure action. The 'formation of correct habits' was the language normal administrators used to describe this process of structuring action. W.A. Stickle, Principal of the Camrose Normal School, applauded the implementation of a longer teacher training course, for it allowed that the *Right habits of*

⁶ NSAR, 1938, p.30.

⁷ NSAR, 1930, p.27.

*study and investigation can be formed.*⁸ Similarly, G.S. Lord indicated that *Our efforts have been directed constantly toward causing our students to know and to follow habitually sound practices in teaching.*⁹

Normalites, too, were aware of this process. On the effect of normal school, normalite Mark McClung approvingly wrote

*Imposed restrictions have given place to a code of self-control, subject to a super control, a control tangible enough to bear every semblance to perfect freedom. Not only is this scheme much the preferable but it has been undoubtedly successful and I attribute this success largely to our Principal - witty yet earnest, kindly yet vigilant, scholarly yet magnetic. He makes us want to do the thing we ought to do.*¹⁰

Although power could operate more effectively if its object was unaware of its exercise, no observation could better capture the effect of power than McClung's final statement. Normalite Reg Turner's fictionalized account of his normal school experience is equally revealing. In the guise of a deceased normalite dropping in on the classes of the various instructors, Turner wrote *"Come on! Hurry! The second bell is ringing and I want to visit Mr. Loucks next..... Of course, there's no need for us to hurry - I forgot for the moment - the old habit was too strong."*¹¹

The essence of habit is action in the absence of reflection. Such a result was central to the identity which the normal school sought to construct. The normal school

⁸ This was the first of seven points which Stickle made on the benefits of a longer teacher training course. NSAR, 1919, p.43.

⁹ NSAR, 1931, p.31.

¹⁰ CgNSYB, 1930-31, p.12. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

¹¹ CgNSYB, 1930-31, p.60. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

presented an image of the teacher which it ultimately wanted normalites to share. To achieve this end, power flowed fluidly, deconstructing and reconstructing, reaching into normalites, turning them into sites of conflict on which -- in which -- intimate attacks against/for identity were waged.

Within the normal school, the three tactics of deconstructive reconstruction, exposure, dispersion, and investiture, were quite discernable. They formed a commanding secular trinity against which resistance was not without personal peril. The investigation of the operation of these tactics is presented in a structured, linear fashion. It is an approach which does not do justice to the polymorphy of power, but which is dictated by analytical and narrative necessity. Similarly, although the study of the exercise of power is divided into three separate parts, deconstructive reconstruction -- and the tactics which enact it -- operate in a more integrated fashion, a blitzkrieg with little respite. Each tactic is explored through the examination of three technologies, and the numerous, and more intimate, micro-technologies which support them. The investigation of three tactics, and three enacting technologies simply serve to limit length of the study, and to achieve a certain structural harmony. The technologies were arbitrarily chosen: they appeared to fruitfully illuminate the exercise of power. The choices necessarily marginalize the operation of other technologies which may also have been effective and prominent.¹²

Exposure, the tactic which operated to separate inmates from their pre-institutional environment and ensure

¹² For example, issues such as the content of examinations, professional curriculum, and the impact of homework have not been explored.

the possibility of a constant gaze, is examined through the technologies of the Normal Entrance Requirements, the rituals of separation, and the physical and administrative architectures of the institution. The Normal Entrance Requirements were the first indicator of separation and served to homogenize normalites. The rituals of separation magnified the borders between normalites and the non-normalite community. The physical and administrative architectures ensured that normalites were subject to a virtually omniscient gaze.

Dispersion, the tactic which functioned to create in the normalite a state of mind characterized by a confusion and despair culminating in dependency, is explored through the technologies of the external physical environment of the institution, practice teaching, and examinations. The strikingly prominent physical environment of the normal school, including the building and its location, found itself indelibly etched in the psyche of many normalites. Practice teaching placed teachers in training in a dishearteningly alien position, for which only certain knowledges proved adequate. The examination ensured the constant evaluation, the sustained judgement, of the normalite, illuminating deficiencies, and eroding perverse knowledges.

Investiture, the tactic which served to transform the despair of dispersion into a desire to conform to institutional norms, is analysed through the technologies of awards, unity and modelling. Awards proliferated in the normal school, providing visible and constant incentives to act in manners promoted within the institution, validated by the laurels. Unity created bonds between both normalites, and normalites and the teacher training tradition of which they were part, thereby intensifying senses of shared responsibility and consciousness, and

deepening a willingness to act in ways that would benefit each other. Modelling primarily represented the attitudes, behaviours and actions of normal school instructors, a cluster which tangibly demonstrated to normalites the inventory they should strive to possess.

As deconstructive reconstruction -- the tactics, technologies and micro-technologies which enacted it -- operated on normalites, it often created a willingness to conform. At its most effective, deconstructive reconstruction ensured that this will transcended rationality, and entered onto a passionate plane of desire. The successful exercise of the tactics ensured that teachers in training wanted to conform, and would act to realize that desire. The following exploration of institutional power is an investigation of that passion.

EXPOSURE

Environment plays an important part in the training of teachers.

G.K. Haverstock,
Principal, Camrose Normal School¹³

Exposure is fundamentally a preliminary tactic. It establishes the necessary context for the operation of the tactics of dispersion and investiture. Exposure organizes those subject to the tactic, inmates of the institution, in a manner which enhances the capacity of dispersion and investiture to act upon them. Thus, exposure positions inmates as potential sites of conflict, where the subsequent tactics, and their supporting technologies, can wage battle in an effort to construct identity.

Three technologies emerge as prominent in the tactic

¹³ NSAR, 1933, p.29.

of exposure within the normal school. The Normal Entrance Requirements functioned as instruments of measurement, a closely knitted net designed to homogenize potential normalites, the student inmates of the normal school. Various internal and external rituals of separation enhanced the normalite's belief that he or she was indeed different from members of the non-institutional community. Finally, the physical and administrative architecture of the normal school acted to ensure, to intensify, the gaze under which normalites found themselves. It was a scrutiny which acted substantially as a check upon all inmates of the institution. Exposure was the glare of a headlight on a dark stretch of highway: it had the potential to freeze those caught in its cold beam. The organization of the normal school sought to capture as many in that beam as possible.

NORMAL ENTRANCE REQUIREMENTS

The tactic of exposure operated on potential normalites prior to any physical encounter with the normal school itself, unless, of course, they were residents of one of the three communities in which normal schools were located. The tactic encroached into, and influenced, the lives of normalites via the presence of the Normal Entrance Requirements (NER), and the card of admission. The NER were a collection of prerequisitional evaluations, the passing of which were deemed necessary for engagement in teacher training. The card of admission was the symbol which marked one as adequate vis a vis the necessary measurements.

To attend normal school, an initial effort on the part of the individual indicating his or her desire to become a normalite was required. Significantly, all hopefuls were obliged to follow the same procedures. It was a harmonizing

procedure, the first in a series which acted to minimize normalite singularities. *Applicants for admission must use the prescribed form issued by the Department of Education and furnished by the Registrar....*¹⁴ *All candidates for admission should secure application forms from the Registrar, Department of Education....*¹⁵ This effort indicated the applicant's awareness that he or she was trying to join a specific group, and implied that there were rules and regulations which structured that group.

The technology of the NER was foundational to the tactic of exposure as it was exercised within the normal school. Embedded within this technology were a broad range of micro-technologies, including various intimate measurements. The individual impact of each of these criterion was not insignificant, but it was their combined influence which most profoundly increased the efficacy of the tactic of exposure. Generally, the NER operated to denude the individual prior to his or her becoming a normalite; insofar as teacher training authorities were concerned, at this point these measurements were the individual. While the NER served to further separate the potential normalite from his or her pre-normal school environment, the illumination and homogenization of individuals were critically important for establishing a framework within which the tactics of dispersion and investiture could later function.

Over the period under study, the impact of the technology of the NER became more pronounced. The NER were gradually refined, an effort which more effectively purified the group of individuals who would become

¹⁴ ANSA, 1921-22, p.11.

¹⁵ ANSA, 1926-27, p.6.

normalites. There was a corresponding expansion in the details known about normal school applicants, an illumination increasingly in the minutest of terms. The details, and the process which illuminated them, were necessarily privileged, for they served to marginalize other information and possible practices.

The effect of the technology of the NER was critical to the success of the tactic of exposure. What is perhaps more significant, however, was the rationale which supported their exercise. It is apparent that changes in the NER neither necessarily, nor often, reflected considerations of teacher training. Rather, the subterranean currents upon which these changes flowed seem to suggest that alterations in the NER acted primarily to refine the normalite community, an outcome which served to enhance the efficacy of the institution reconstructing the inmate's identity. The fact that a teacher identity was being constructed emerges as purely incidental.

During the period under study the NER necessitated that potential normalites be judged on the basis of four different criterion: academic, character, health, and age. The criterion were not stagnant. From 1906 to 1941, the importance of some were enhanced, while others withered. A brief review of these micro-technologies of the NER is in order.

Academic

Initially, the academic standards for the NER were minimal. The regulations of 1906 stipulated that *Cards of admission may be granted to...[those] who hold or are entitled to Standard VI, VII or VIII diplomas.*¹⁶ Gradually

¹⁶ As cited in George Mann, "Alberta Normal Schools: A Descriptive Study of Their Development" (M.Ed. thesis,

this brevity was replaced by a plethora of categories into which applicants could be fitted. The 1921-22 regulations demonstrated a definite, and overblown, attempt at academic comprehensiveness. Covered in the list were four general academic categories, which included a total of twelve sub-categories.

The following summary shows the [Non-Professional] qualifications necessary for admission and the class of certificate for which the applicant may train.

(1) Interim Academic certificates with the standing of specialists-Honor Graduates of Universities in British Dominions....

(4)(g) Undergraduates of Universities in the British Dominions or graduates of accredited High Schools in the United States who can prove to the satisfaction of the Department of Education that they possess academic qualifications equivalent to the above, may be admitted. In the case of those students coming from points outside Canada, a special examination in Canadian and British Geography and History and in Canadian Civics will be required.¹⁷

The categories of admission became so complicated that high school principals were often unable to advise students as to the exact requirements regarding entrance to normal school.¹⁸ Perhaps in the face of such confusion, by 1931 academic criteria were considerably streamlined.

Scholastic Requirements

1. Applicants holding the Grade XII (Normal Entrance) diploma, its equivalent, or higher standing will be given first consideration.

University of Alberta, 1961), p.32. Mann also notes that "Between 1910 and 1912 the method of classifying students in Alberta's public schools underwent a change. The five public school standards became eight public school grades, whereas the three secondary standards became four secondary grades (grades IX to XII)." pp.35-6.

¹⁷ ANSA, 1921-22, pp.11-12.

¹⁸ E.W. Coffin, Principal of Calgary Normal School, to H.J. Spicer, Registrar, September 30, 1931. NSF, PAA 78.92-2.

2. Next in order will come those holding the Grade XI diploma and standing in four or more of the units of the fourth high school year.

3. The remaining places will be filled from applicants holding the Grade XI diploma in the order of their standing on the Departmental examinations.¹⁹

From the earliest days of normal school operation, there reverberated in normal school reports a concern over the weakness of normalites despite their having met academic qualifications. In 1909 W.H. Thompson, the Principal of the Calgary Normal School, stated that *The perennial complaint is still valid, that a great many of our students who come directly from our high schools are markedly deficient in spelling, writing and composition.*²⁰ A quarter of a century later, in 1935, the situation was substantially mirrored.

*Attention must again be called to the fact, however, that several candidates for certificates are seriously defective, from the viewpoint of public school teaching, in oral English, as well as in facile comprehension of text-book material.*²¹

While an argument was made which suggested the effectiveness of the academic component of the NER in selecting amongst potential applicants, it was a solitary voice.²² Indeed, more vigorous discontent culminated in a new, but very traditional, method of further screening applicants by academic ability.

The solution was additional examinations. The editor of the Calgary Normal School yearbook commented on the shifting policy.

¹⁹ ANSA, 1931-32, p.2.

²⁰ NSAR, 1909, p.40.

²¹ NSAR, 1935, p.29-30.

²² NSAR, 1935, p.36.

*For both the staff and students of the Normal School, the term of 1936-37 has been one of transition and innovation. ...this was the first year that students were required to pass entrance examinations...[one of various] far-reaching reforms in procedure....*²³

Initially referred to as foundation tests, these entrance examinations were sponsored by the Department of Education, and were to be written in the first weeks of normal school. Acceptance to normal school was consequently made provisional, for

*...all were required to take further qualification tests as follows: General Intelligence, Silent and Oral Reading, Oral and Written English, English Usage, Sentence Structure, Vocabulary and Spelling, Canadian History and Geography, Elementary General Science, and Arithmetic (Reasoning and Computation).*²⁴

The impact of the foundation tests was immediate. In 1936, seven students who had otherwise qualified for entrance to normal school were denied admission.²⁵ By 1938, the foundation tests were further refined. Three specific realms for examination were identified: general ability, silent reading, and oral and written English. As well, a comprehensive fourth area was included. Applicants would have to take *Such further tests in the fundamentals of the elementary school and intermediate school subjects as may be found expedient.*²⁶

However, even this additional layer of examinations was quickly deemed inadequate for purposes of determining normal school entry. The first notice of a new set of

²³ CgNSYB, 1936-37, p.7. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

²⁴ NSAR, 1936, p.29.

²⁵ NSAR, 1936, p.34.

²⁶ NSAR, 1938, p.21-22. Normal school graduates were increasingly prepared for teaching grades below high school.

examinations came in 1938; they were to take effect in 1940. The NER for 1940-41 included a description of these new tests.

...all students...must write on the two additional examinations, viz: (1) A General Test, and (2) A Survey Test in Mathematics and Science.

*The General Test will be of mental aptitude and the Survey Test will be one showing the candidate's grasp of those fundamental notions and principles in Mathematics and Science which a high school graduate seeking admission to the teaching profession can reasonably be expected to understand.*²⁷

These two tests were to be taken only once, and prior to entry to normal school. Provisional admission was determined by a combination of an individual's high school grades and the results from their General and Survey Tests. During the first week of normal school, prospective candidates still had to pass the qualifying examinations previously outlined.²⁸

Character

A regular fixture in the pantheon of the NER for much of the period under consideration was the certificate of moral character (or some form thereof). From the inception of the normal school such a certificate was required. *No card of admission shall be granted until the applicant has submitted to the Department a certificate of moral character signed by a clergyman or some other responsible person.*²⁹ The regulation of 1921-22 indicates little change. It stated that *Each application must be accompanied by...a satisfactory certificate of moral character dated*

²⁷ ANSA, 1940-41, pp.4-5.

²⁸ ANSA, 1940-41, p.5.

²⁹ NSAR, 1907, p.102.

*within three months of the application....*³⁰ As late as 1931, morality certificates were provided with the standard normal school application package.³¹

By the late 1930's morality certificates were transformed into a subtler form of evaluation, referred to as a personality "assay". Such assays were to be provided by high school teachers, and were used to judge applicants on the basis of aptitude for teaching. In the words of E.W. Coffin, the Principal of the Calgary Normal School, *Such a rating [of general intelligence and basic ability]...should be supplemented by informal and frank estimates, secured from high school teachers, of aptness for public school work.*³² Perhaps upon Coffin's suggestion, the assays of 1939 took an even more invasive route. High school students were to be evaluated in terms of their teaching potential without either their desire or knowledge of it. It was reported that

*In May the Supervisor of Schools circularized the high-school Principals of the Province, asking them to co-operate with the Department by guiding into the teaching profession such of their students as they considered to be "good prospects," and to report on all students who expected to seek admission in September to the Normal Schools....*³³

The NER measured and evaluated character even prior to the germination of the individual's request to enter the normal school.

³⁰ ANSA, 1921-22, p.11.

³¹ G.K. Haverstock to the Registrar, September 19, 1931. NSF, PAA 78.92-1.

³² NSAR, 1938, p.27.

³³ NSAR, 1938, p.27; and 1939, p.36.

Health

By the time they completed their normal school experience, normalites were subject to as many as three physical examinations. Insofar as the NER are concerned, it is the initial examination which is of interest.

The earliest references to the initial medical examination suggest that it played a decisive role in determining who could become a normalite. J.C. Miller, Acting Principal of the Camrose Normal School, noted that *The students were examined by the Medical Supervisor*, and described the process as a preliminary to the work of teacher training.³⁴ Applicants who hoped to become normalites were advised that physical disability would render them ineligible for teacher training. The regulations for 1921-22 were quite clear on this matter.

*It is important that those who plan to engage in the work of teaching be in good health and free from any serious disability. Applicants for admission to the Normal School are asked to note particularly that before registration can be completed each must satisfy the Medical Officer of the School as to his general physical condition and that it would be wise for him to take the course.... The Department expressly reserves the right to reject any applicant for registration who may be adversely reported upon by the medical officers. In cases where there is any doubt, applicants are advised to consult the family physician before leaving for the school.*³⁵

No definition of 'serious disability' was included. In fact, the only indication as to the specific disabilities which concerned the Department of Education (DOE) was revealed in 1931-32, and it seems decidedly non-medical. *Candidates who are defective in the use of the English language, either oral or written, will not be admitted.*³⁶

³⁴ NSAR, 1914, p.34.

³⁵ ANSA, 1921-22, p.14.

Apparently the academic regulations were inadequate at screening out those with this defect.

The DOE eventually recognized that differing degrees of physical ability amongst normalites was appropriate, or, at least, unavoidable. The 1926-27 regulations stipulated that

*All students are required to undergo a medical examination before being enrolled for training. It is recommended that students who plan to take part in such games as rugby, basketball, or hockey, secure a certificate of physical fitness.*³⁷

However, by this time the DOE had decreed that all judgment as to an applicant's physical ability should be within its purview, and that all disabilities, regardless of severity, had to be revealed to their representative. Applicants were told that

*Candidates suffering from physical handicaps of any sort will save themselves trouble and expense by getting the advice of the Department of Education before proceeding to the school.*³⁸

By 1940-41, the regulation concerning an applicant's health had become quite refined. It stated that

*All admissions to the Normal Schools shall be provisional only. At the beginning of the Normal School term all candidates are required (1) to pass a medical examination for physical fitness.... Candidates (i) who suffer from poor health or physical handicaps...will not be permitted to proceed with Normal School work.*³⁹

Not only was this the most concise statement to address the issue of health, it was also the most sweeping. The

³⁶ This clause was in addition to other regulations which were otherwise virtually identical with those of 1926-27, as previously outlined. ANSA, 1931-32, pp.6-7.

³⁷ ANSA, 1926-27, pp.6-7.

³⁸ ANSA, 1926-27, pp.6-7.

³⁹ ANSA, 1940-41, p.5.

administrators of teacher training determined what illness was, and whether or not it should debar an otherwise successful candidate.

Age

Age restrictions were part of the NER from the inception of the normal school. Regulations for 1906 stated that *Cards of admission may be granted to females over sixteen years of age and to males over eighteen years of age....*⁴⁰ By 1931-32, the age requirement was made uniform for both sexes. *Applicants for admission to train as teachers of the first class will be accepted if they (a) will attain the age of eighteen on or before June 30th, 1932....* However, the age requirement was different, depending on the class of certificate one pursued. *Applicants for admission to train as teachers of the second class will be accepted provided they will be eighteen years of age by December 31st, 1931.*⁴¹

By 1940, the issue of age was covered by an all-inclusive regulation, which stated that *An admission will not be accepted unless the applicant will attain the age of eighteen years on or before June 30th, 1941.*⁴² This requirement paralleled the refinement of the other NER, and

⁴⁰ As cited in Mann, "Alberta Normal Schools", p.32.

⁴¹ ANSA, 1931-32, p.2. Normalites possessing a Grade XII diploma, or those who had been an undergraduate with at least two years standing were trained for a first class certificate. Normalites who possessed a Grade XI diploma trained for a second class certificate. Throughout the 1930's, the Department of Education discouraged the pursuit of the second class certificate, and this division correspondingly became less of a factor. ANSA, 1931-32, p.5.

⁴² ANSA, 1940-41, p.4.

reflected efforts to ensure the highest degree of similarity between normalites. The Second World War, however, and the accompanying demand for teachers, largely corrupted these efforts.

The changes in the NER over the three and a half decades under study suggest some definite trends. Qualifications were narrowed. Details about normal school applicants became more excessive and minute. Efforts which sought to determine the experience of normalites prior to their teacher training were exerted. Control of the selection of applicants was increasingly concentrated in the hands of DOE officials. Primarily, these changes reflected a continuing endeavour to restrict or limit the individuals who would become normalites. The central issue, however, is not this particular trend towards exclusivity. Rather, what must be analyzed was the reason for this trend. Why did the NER seek to restrict normalites?

The most obvious answer is that such efforts reflected a desire to improve the quality of the normalite, and thus, ultimately, the quality of the teacher. This assertion, however, requires that one demonstrate a correlation between the particular criteria set out by the NER, and the quality of teacher which emerged from the normal school. For example, did a positive correlation exist between high grades and subsequent teacher effectiveness? Or, if indeed one's age did influence his or her ability to teach, did one year less significantly influence teaching performance? While this study is not designed to analyze the post-normal school experience of the teacher, it can be demonstrated, even without delving into that experience, that the correlation between the NER and the ability to teach was rather minimal. Furthermore, those who established the criteria were well aware of the tenuous relationship.

This administrative awareness emerged lucidly in the reflections of G.K. Haverstock, Principal of the Camrose Normal School. Appointed to the principalship in 1928, his first observations on the NER surfaced in 1931. He wrote, *The policy of the Department to raise the academic requirements for entrance to Normal School has resulted in giving us a larger group of better than average students. In former years we had a much larger group of below average type. It has been pretty well established that the more selective the group is, from the standpoint of academic attainment, the greater are the chances for success in teaching. In spite of the greater care in selection, we shall always have a few students who are not naturally fitted for the work of teaching.*⁴³

At least two points leap from his statement. First, teacher training effectiveness improves with the (academic) homogenization of the group. Second, the NER could not screen out those who did not have the capacity to teach. What they could do magnifies the first point; the NER reduced differences within the group. Haverstock elaborated on this perspective in the Camrose Normal School yearbook of the same year.

*Never in the history of Alberta has the Normal School graduate had a better "product" to offer the public. We make this statement not because we wish to "toot our own horn," but because this year we have received a superior type of raw material with which to work. The Department policy of a more careful selection for admission to Normal School is responsible for the better class of students. Even with the same training of former years these students have "better value" to offer the public.*⁴⁴

It is obvious that in his first year as principal, Haverstock believed that tight NER exerted a positive

⁴³ NSAR, 1931, p.29.

⁴⁴ CmNSYB, 1931-32, p.3. NSF, PAA 84.484-2. The industrial, mechanistic model of the teacher and of education are quite evident. Haverstock's comments may also have been designed to bolster the professional spirits of a neophyte group of teachers.

control on the variables of teacher training.

Haverstock's perspective was not, however, static. Some years later he again deliberated on the relationship of the NER and teaching ability. The detail of his comments suggest the experience and reflection incorporated in the observations. They are important enough to quote extensively.

Under present conditions and regulations we are required to make a survey of the student-teachers during the first week of the Normal School year, with the idea of eliminating those who are not suited to the work of teaching. How successful we have been I am not prepared to state. I do not think it would cause much less embarrassment for all those concerned if a selective process could be devised before the card of admission is issued.

May I suggest that a committee of admissions be set up, consisting of School Inspectors and members of the normal school staff. This committee would gather information in respect to candidates with regard to --

- a) Oral English.*
- b) Physical Disabilities.*
- c) General personality characteristics.*
- d) Financial conditions.*
- e) Psychological tests.*
- f) Reasons for entering teaching profession.*
- g) Participation in sports club and other social activities.*
- h) Penmanship and Spelling.*

It is felt that the superior teacher must possess many qualities not measured by academic attainment, by psychological examinations or by health examinations. No adequate measure for these intangible qualities are yet available; indeed there is no definite agreement as to what the qualities really are. Yet there is sufficient agreement as to their importance to make it necessary to take them into account. Many individuals who have a limited mental and physical endowment have achieved success by perseverance, sincerity of purpose and habits of industry. In so far as possible, every factor which has a bearing upon the future success of the applicant would be taken into consideration. It would be the aim of the admissions committee to supplement other data to counsel with the applicant as to the advisability of undertaking work in Normal School. The committee would make its recommendations to the Department of Education, and upon these

*recommendations, cards of admission would be issued.*⁴⁵

Haverstock had come to the conclusion that the NER were inadequate, that they did not accurately determine which individuals would make good teachers. Arguably, Haverstock's initial comments (of 1931) reflect an assumption rather than a reflection. That is, one would assume a tightly regulated NER would increase the quality of the normal school graduate; Haverstock's experience indicated this not to be so. It is intriguing that the solution he proposed essentially called for an increased body of knowledge compiled on individual applicants. Ultimately, any increase of knowledge enhances efforts of manipulation.

There were other less extensive statements which commented on the failure of the NER to select the best potential teachers. Once implemented, the foundation tests were subject to a great degree of scrutiny, particularly by C. Sansom, of the Calgary Normal School staff. His extensive studies asserted

*...that the coefficient of correlation between preliminary-test scores and final practice teaching was only .25, and between preliminary-test scores and academic success at the Normal School is .58. Obviously, if the practice-teaching scores are to be accepted as the criterion of teaching ability at the Normal School, no prediction as to the success of the individual students at the Normal School can be made from the results of the preliminary tests. He concludes "...in trying to decide in advance who will make good teachers as determined by practice-teaching results, the preliminary tests are practically, if not entirely, useless."*⁴⁶

Despite Sansom's conclusions, the tests were maintained, and, indeed, expanded. While their prognostic value was

⁴⁵ NSAR, 1937, pp.37-8.

⁴⁶ NSAR, 1939, pp.32-4.

dubious, it was argued that they *serve[d] a useful purpose for guiding individual students and uncovering the need for remedial work.*⁴⁷ The more known about the student, the more effective the normal school experience.

The issue of age in the NER was also the subject of much debate, particularly prior to standardization. Reports like that of A.E. Torrie, Principal of the Camrose Normal School, were not uncommon. Noting that a large number of students were under eighteen, he continued

*While these very young students are quite clever in their Academic Work, their immaturity is a decided handicap to them, and usually a detriment to their pupils when they are called upon to assume the duties of managing anything approaching a heavy school.*⁴⁸

Laudable enthusiasm and intellect were tempered by the effects of pubescence. However, within a year, and with more experience, Torrie's perspective had changed substantially.

*It is interesting to note that the average age of those in the First Class is lower than the average age of the Second Class students. Many of them had taken less than the standard time to complete their public and school work, and it is a question whether those brighter students who are able to do this and who happen to be boys should be penalized for their brightness by not being able to attend Normal School in some case for a year after they have completed Grade XII. In general the age limit is not too high, but we all realize that the chronological age is not necessarily the true measure of maturity of mentality or development of personality.*⁴⁹

Hard work, and its sacrifices, should not be punished.

Despite the agreed upon positive characteristics of younger students, as well as the apparent inadequacy of age

⁴⁷ NSAR, 1940, pp.29-30, 33-35.

⁴⁸ NSAR, 1923, p.49; and 1916, p.34.

⁴⁹ NSAR, 1924, pp.40-41.

(within a range) as a measurement of potential teaching ability, a standard age of eighteen was soon imposed. The choice was arbitrary. It seems to imply (or rest on a belief of) an assumed degree of common, and desired, maturity amongst normalites.

The medical component of the NER suggests that its primary function was to reveal intimate details about the applicant's health.⁵⁰ Presumably, the regulation was founded on the assumption that certain physical disabilities effectively barred one from teaching. What exactly the disabilities were was apparently left to the discretion of the DOE, and were rarely disclosed to the public. For example, Haverstock argued that *a more complete medical examination would prevent a number of difficulties that confront us throughout the year.*⁵¹ Such unidentified difficulties undoubtedly corroded the efficiency of the institution. To a great extent, this attitude reflected a conspiracy of silence on the part of DOE officials.⁵²

Certainly there were health hazards of which the DOE had to be wary, including contagious diseases such as tuberculosis. It could also be argued that isolated rural placements demanded teachers without (serious) physical disability. However, the NER indicated that any physical disability was potentially cause for exclusion. Archival

⁵⁰ See Appendix II for further information on the medical examinations.

⁵¹ NSAR, 1929, p.29.

⁵² This attitude emerged, for example, in the comments of William Aberhart, Premier, and Minister of Education. On the issue of enterprise education, Aberhart *recommended that the essential principles of the new education should be reduced to short statements simply expressed which parents and the public generally can immediately understand and accept.* NSAR, 1941, p.35.

research has exposed no source which specifies the rationale of the DOE. Was it possible that the issue was not future teaching effectiveness, but rather that disability inhibited group participation, thereby disrupting the shared normal school experience?

The character strictures acted to separate and homogenize in a less debateable manner than the other NER. Given the emphasis on the relationship between education and character development, the desire to regulate normalites on the basis of character is not surprising. The advice of William Aberhart, Premier of Alberta, to normalites held true for the entire period under study. He wrote,

*You will do well to remember that in the field of character formation lies one of your main opportunities. We need men and women trained to habits of honest thinking, integrity and the will to work together. With citizens of this calibre the future of our country is assured.*⁵³

The teacher's responsibility as a moral guardian made it particularly important that normalites share the sense of morality they would be advocating and protecting. Possession of this morality did not necessarily make one a better teacher; it did, however, presumably ensure that one would teach certain values. When the character requirements were properly met, the normal school community was characterized by a common moral sensibility.

The trend in the NER towards exclusivity and restriction was thus not rooted in the knowledge that such a direction necessarily improved the quality of future teachers. To understand the trend it must be examined within the totality of what the normal school, as an institution, was designed to achieve. The normal school operated to create an identity, specifically one of a

⁵³ CgNSYB, 1936-37, p.3. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

teacher. The NER functioned as a technology which served to improve the efficacy of the institution, to enhance its ability to reconstruct the identity of the inmates therein; in this case a teacher identity.

The NER operated as a net through which only certain applicants were permitted to pass. The tightening of specific requirements decreased the size of the mesh, thereby ensuring the passage of an increasingly similar group. Thus, those applicants who became normalites found themselves part of an exclusive group, a group refined with each passing year. Of course, there were occasions when issues of supply and demand mooted the NER, and laxity reigned. This was particularly the case in the years immediately following the First World War, and during the Second World War.⁵⁴ But, even during these lapses, it is evident that the NER primarily sought to ensure uniformity, while simultaneously creating a body of knowledge which represented the individual. If the normalite is seen as the site of conflict, a battle ground in the construction of identity, the drive to know becomes lucid: success in battle requires an intimacy with details. In any case, the general trend, over the thirty-five years, indicates a net with a constantly shrinking mesh, and a subsequently uniform catch.

An homogeneous group of normalites was extremely important to the success of deconstructive reconstruction. Specific technologies did not have to be created for different individuals. It was more efficient to have the same technologies operate on all, with generally similar,

⁵⁴ NSAR, 1920, p.57; 1921, p.36; and H.C. Newland, Supervisor of Schools, to W.H. Swift, Principal of the Calgary Normal School, September 20, 1940. NSF, PAA 78.92-1. See the section entitled "Normal Entrance Requirements" in Chapter 8, where rents in the net are further discussed.

and predictive effects. References in official documents on teacher training to the student body were not without meaning.⁵⁵ Regulations were designed to maximize normality within that student body, whether defined in terms of academics, chronology or health. It was essential that the body be healthy, without deviancy, without flaw; teachers must be normal. Ultimately, similarity enhanced the growth of a shared consciousness, a unity. The satiation of the normalite's desire to belong, a desire magnified within the isolating and revealing normal environment, facilitated this unity. It gave the tactic of investiture commanding points on which to operate.

The Card of Admission

Recognition of one's possible acceptability as a member of the normalite community was tangibly demonstrated. The applicant's first notice that he or she was potentially a member of this group came in the form of a card. *A card of provisional admission will be forwarded to all candidates whose applications have been accepted by the Registrar....*⁵⁶ Upon acceptance, the card was *to be presented to the Principal of the school....*⁵⁷ For example, Gerda Koingnson's yearbook biography included the fact that *...this little flaxen haired lady presented her admission card at the C.N.S. Since then we find she has excelled in almost everything.*⁵⁸ Attaining the card was a recognition that certain criteria, the NER, had been adequately met. It thus revealed something of the individual: it marked him or

⁵⁵ ANSA 1926-27, pp.6-7; and 1931-32, p.6-7.

⁵⁶ ANSA, 1940-41, p.5.

⁵⁷ ANSA, 1921-22, p.11.

⁵⁸ CmNSYB, 1929-30, p.9. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

her, to others and to the self, as an owner of such qualifications. The card was therefore a badge which identified the applicant as different, an emblem which suggested that he or she was desired as a member of this exclusive group.

Because it identified the successful applicant as one whom authorities were confident had the makings of a teacher, the card was undoubtedly a sign of pride to many of those who received it. Of course, like Gerda Koingson, the applicant would be responsible for fulfilling that potential.

RITUALS OF SEPARATION

The critical severing function of the tactic of exposure is most efficient when vividly marked. Such visibility enhances the belief that the participants are different from those excluded. Within the context of the normal school, the efficacy of exposure was enhanced by the degree to which both groups of individuals (the inmates of the institution and those who remained external to it) shared this belief. In such a situation, separation transcended the physical, and penetrated into the individual's mental outlook: normalites were segregated both corporeally and spiritually. The likelihood of the successes of the tactics of dispersion and investiture were increased to the degree to which this was achieved. Those subsequent tactics could then operate unfettered, and unquestioned upon a largely isolated and vulnerable group.

Separation was an abrupt and unmistakable component of the normal school experience. It was manifested upon two levels, both externally and internally. External separation refers to efforts employed by the community at large which divided the inmates from that community. Internal

separation indicates activities exercised by the institution (including administrators and instructors) which promoted a division between its inmates and the external community. While, in various degrees, both types of separation permeate the entire normal school experience, the concern in an analysis of exposure is how separation was manifested and lived in the initial stages of that experience. Technologies of separation exercised on the inmate later in his or her normal experience may best be seen as reminders of the fact of this initial separation, as flags which continued to signal that the normalite was indeed different.

External Rituals

Archival evidence indicating efforts of external separation were most prominently associated with the Camrose Normal School, where there were evident two enacting micro-technologies.⁵⁹ One, the reception by the Methodist congregation, was exercised for only a few years. This early-in-the-term reception appears to have been an annual activity from about 1916 to 1921. In January, 1920,

⁵⁹ This situation may be the result of any number of factors, and may equally reflect any number of possibilities. Given the small size of the town of Camrose, information which dealt with the normal school, an important facility and a boon for a rural community, was most certainly of greater consequence than similar news in either Edmonton or Calgary. It is also possible that the activities either did not take place, or were of less grandeur in the two larger centres. One might also consider that power adjusts itself to prevailing conditions, and that, therefore, it may well have been exercised somewhat differently in disparate locations. However, given the fact that the activities did occur in one of the institutions under study, the micro-technologies of external separation must be analysed. The reader must be aware that, in this situation, generalizations are speculative.

it was reported in the *Camrose Canadian* that *A reception was given to the present term normalites by the Methodist congregation in Church last evening. It went on to note that the informal program included solos, a reading, refreshments, a chat, and that it closed with "God Save the King."*⁶⁰ The primary benefactor of the event was the normal school community, as indicated by this characteristic report from October, 1919. *A very enjoyable time was spent at the Methodist church on Friday evening, September 16th, when a reception was tendered the normalites.*⁶¹ However, this likely proved to be a technology of marginal value, for occasionally invitations to those from outside the normal school were extended.

*The Methodist church will hold a reception on Friday evening, September 23rd, at 8 o'clock, for the staff of the Normal, Practice and High schools, all Normal students and out-of-town High school students. Members of the Good Times club and all young people connected with the church are asked to come along and join the evening.*⁶²

Though unstated, it is probable that increasing enrollment at the normal school, and the addition of individuals from other institutions, eventually made the activity impractical, thus accounting for its abandonment.⁶³ Divested of any exclusivity, it was increasingly

⁶⁰ CC, January 20, 1916.

⁶¹ CC, October 2, 1919.

⁶² CC, September 22, 1921.

⁶³ Reports of a similar event surface again in the late 1930's. On October 20, 1937 the *Camrose Canadian* reported that *United church groups entertained the Normal and Lutheran College students at a pleasant party in the class rooms on Friday. The program was featured with amusing contests. Dainty refreshments were served.* There is no indication that it had been a continuous tradition to this point.

ineffective as a method by which normalites were separated.

The second micro-technology of external separation was utilized for virtually the entirety of the operation of the normal school, from at least 1915 to 1937. This technology saw personal information about normalites printed in the *Camrose Canadian*, often prominently on the front page (at least until increased enrollment rendered the list too long, at which time it spilled into the later pages). Initially, the names, places of origin and Camrose residences of normalites and staff were revealed.⁶⁴ Eventually, the list was divided into First and Second Class students.⁶⁵ This latter format remained constant throughout much of the remaining years of the functioning of the normal school.

The individuals who planned/hosted/undertook these micro-technologies of external separation probably sought no more than to provide an introductory service, to welcome normalites to the community. While they probably furnished that, they also functioned on another less visible, perhaps less intended level. The micro-technologies identified the normalites, marking them off as different from the community at large. An invitation as a member of a specific group; a listing as a member of that group. These were tangible indications of the community's recognition that the normalites were indeed a singular population, and thus very probably served to (re)inforce in the mind of the normalite that he or she was different, and that the difference was shared with a collection of individuals similarly defined. It was an initial foray into identity

⁶⁴ CC, August 19, 1915.

⁶⁵ CC, January 4, 1917.

construction.⁶⁶

Internal Rituals

Within the normal school, the tactic of exposure exercised micro-technologies of internal separation. Both occurred with regularity at each normal school. One was the initial registration/assembly of students, while the other was what might be broadly termed the introductory event. The initial registration/assembly was apparently a rather reserved affair.

*Registration will take place at the schools, Monday, August 22nd, and regular class work will begin on the following morning. A general meeting of all students will be held on the afternoon of registration day in the Assembly Hall of each school.*⁶⁷

The formality of the occasion imbued it with a certain heavy sombreness, at least insofar as one reporter perceived it.

First Important Event

On September 9th occurred that all-important event,

⁶⁶ The reader may be concerned that I am ascribing motivation that cannot be known, and that may not have existed. This is not the issue; whether this consequence of external separation was intended or not is problematic. In fact, it would perhaps be entirely surprising to discover that the Methodist congregation sought to define these individuals as normalites, to aid in their identity reconstruction. The more pertinent point is that even if the Methodist congregation did not seek for this to happen, it did anyway; their actions contributed to, and in a limited fashion, ensured a process of definition. It is critical to remember that power, specifically as it exercised within/through deconstructive reconstruction, does not require a directive, intending agent. There need be no 'bad guys,' only the sticky web of ensnaring processes. It is those processes which must be understood.

⁶⁷ ANSA, 1921-22, p.12.

*registration. Green students wandered up and down corridors in search of the assembly hall. Finding it they listened big-eyed and very grave to introductory addresses which stressed the importance of their future profession, the responsibility of which would be theirs.... Nervously they met for their first classes, bought out the book-stores. Normal had begun.*⁶⁸

Even an outsider recognized the importance of this as an initiatory event, as one which established a tone for the normal experience.

It was considered important that the normalite attend this first occasion. *Students...who fail to report on registration day may have their places assigned to others should the accommodation be taxed.*⁶⁹ By the early 1930's, the event had transcended mere importance and had become virtually mandatory. *Students...who fail to report on registration day will forfeit the right to admission unless permission for late registration has been obtained.*⁷⁰ Exceptions were to be minimalized.

Certainly one could examine this request/demand and argue that it merely reflected an increasingly efficient bureaucratic administration. And, by ensuring that events of the first day would not have to be repeated for individual normalites, it probably did. Thus, from the start of the normalite's teacher training experience, he or she was confronted with a model of efficiency. But, did bureaucratic efficiencies mask other implications? It was important that all normalites be present at the initial registration/assembly simply because of the fact that all students within the normal school were normalites, and they were to be treated as such, similarly, without exception.

⁶⁸ CC, November 4, 1936.

⁶⁹ ANSA, 1926-27, p.6.

⁷⁰ ANSA, 1931-32, p.6.

To allow an individual to register in a fashion different from the majority would corrupt the shared experience, enhance the singularity of that individual, and obstruct group formation. The defining process sought to reduce differences, not to magnify them. To begin the construction of teacher identity by ensuring the latter and not the former would unnecessarily retard that process.

The above report cited from the *Camrose Canadian*, which empathizes with a normalite's perspective on the occasion, is also enlightening. The atmosphere portrayed in the report is reflected in normalite Merle Hillerud's *A Reverie: On Revisiting the Halls of the Normal*.

*If you have tears, prepare to shed them now;
You do know this foyer; I remember
The first time I ever stepped into it.
'Twas on an autumn morning, one September,
That day we were all overcome by nerves.⁷¹*

Perhaps it was essential that all normalites attend registration because it was important they all share in the immediate effects of this experience. It can be seen as an indication that normal staff wanted to induce reactions of nervousness, awe, confusion, trepidation. Establishing such a frame of mind in the normalites early in their normal school experience enhanced their vulnerability to the tactics of dispersion and investiture. It forced normalites to turn to one another for support, just as it created a willingness to depend on, to put one's trust in, normal school authorities. Such a dependency was essential to the process of identity construction.

The second micro-technology of internal separation was the introductory event. The various forms it took included an "at home," a sports day, a picnic, a party, and a

⁷¹ ENSYB, 1936-37, p.8. NSF, PAA, 72.298-2. The poem has another twenty-two lines.

reception. An early indication of the celebration is dated 1915, when it was reported that

*The staff of the Normal School were at home to the students last Thursday evening, and an enjoyable time was spent in a short and well received program and games, after which a dainty lunch was served.*⁷²

In Camrose, the "at home" continued as an central feature of the introductory events until at least 1937, when a normalite curtly noted that *A welcome party given us by the staff was much appreciated.*⁷³

The introductory event was evidently a very significant occasion for both normal school staff and normalites. The repetition of the event is suggestive of the staff's perspective. It was also detailed in normal school publications designed for general distribution.

*That the development of the social side of the students' life may not be neglected, ample provision is made for social activities of a varying nature. The staffs of the schools hold a reception early in the session that the students may get acquainted and meet the instructors in a personal way.*⁷⁴

In 1924, the opening of the Calgary Normal School session was delayed by some weeks. This precipitated a cancellation of the annual meet-and-greet picnic. The principal's concern was duly registered. *A disadvantage is...the omission of our "getting acquainted" picnic at Bowness Park.*⁷⁵ On a similar picnic at the Edmonton Normal School, G.S. Lord, the Principal, commented, *We set considerable store by this function, as it is very successful in getting the students acquainted with one another and in driving*

⁷² CC, September 16, 1915.

⁷³ CC, October 20, 1937.

⁷⁴ ANSA, 1921-22, p.14.

⁷⁵ NSAR, 1924, p.35.

away homesickness.⁷⁶ Homesickness was evidence that normalites were unduly connected with their previous community; the picnic served to lessen the command of that connection.

The normalites also believed the reception to be of considerable consequence. Extensive reports filled the pages of the various normal school yearbooks. Beth Stevenson, of the 1929-30 class of the Calgary Normal School, remembered the occasion in her valedictory address. *The students had hardly arrived before the yearly blessing, the "Getting Acquainted" picnic, was bestowed. Kindred spirits were discovered and a general feeling of goodwill for all established.*⁷⁷

The Edmonton Normal yearbook gave a short, but revealing, indication of the importance of the event.

*On September 7th, the Normal Staff held a picnic in King Edward Park. The Normalites responded wholeheartedly, and attendance was almost one hundred per cent. Games, contests, community singing and an enjoyable lunch comprised the program of the afternoon. The students wore their names printed on card-board on their backs, therefore introductions were unnecessary and everyone rallied to the "get together" spirit of the day.*⁷⁸

The Calgary Normal School yearbook of 1930-31 printed a humorous, and warm reminiscence of the "Get Acquainted" picnic, which seemingly belied fond memories:

The social activities of the Normal School began this year with the annual "Get Acquainted" picnic at St. George's Island.

Private cars, loaded to the roof with carefree youths and maidens, hurried from the Normal School to the park.

After lunch had been eaten the real events began.

First came a contest to see which class could yell the

⁷⁶ G.S. Lord to J.T. Ross, Deputy Minister of Education, December 12, 1932. NSF, PAA 78.92-1.

⁷⁷ CgNSYB, 1929-30, p.3. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

⁷⁸ ENSYB, 1929-30, p.45. NSF, PAA 84.484-3.

loudest and longest. Contrary to expectations the girls did not win this event. It was won by the first class men.

Each class then put on a skit. Here some of the ladies tried to cover their defeat in the yelling contest by carolling melodious choruses. IB was the victor in this.

Then came that never-to-be forgotten beauty contest. The ladies were to dress the men in the raiment of the fair sex and were to exhibit them before the judges. This almost caused a panic. When the men were needed they had mysteriously disappeared. Yet, they were not far away for Mr. McCalla was all this time marvelling at the strange forms of animal life that could be seen crawling among the bushes. They were finally rounded up, dressed, and after being corralled into a small circle, were paraded before a committee of the staff for judgement.

A series of tugs-a-war and baseball matches, in which all the classes participated, ended the picnic, and the tired but better-acquainted students returned home.

Points were awarded for the winning class in each of the events of the day. Class 1A came first, with 1B a close second.⁷⁹

Apparently, as is evident from a subsequent report, the activities did not change much from year to year.

Soon after the school started, Dr. Coffin announced that a get-acquainted picnic would be held at St. George's Island on September 15th. The women were asked to bring old parcels of clothes to assist in a sunrise stunt. At eleven o'clock in the bright September sunshine, we hastened down the hill to the waiting street cars. At first, class yells filled the air, but as we neared the island, tired throats protested and the noise subsided.

The first matter to receive attention was refreshments. We sat at tables under the trees and coffee was served by the staff. After lunch, which was punctuated by various yells, each class was required to produce an original sketch to include all members. Class 1D was awarded first place for a burlesque of Lord Ullen's Daughter.

The girl's were then required to choose a member of one of the men's classes, and dress him in the old clothes they had brought to the picnic grounds. After a period of

⁷⁹ CgNSYB, 1930-31, p.44. NSF, PAA 84.484-1. Van Gennep suggests that role reversal, and the community's disregard of it, are common features in the rites of passage. Also note the authoritative status of the staff, who sat in judgement.

*hilarious merriment, various dames of fashion sauntered past the judges bench. The judges decided unanimously in favour of Fred Fisher, sponsored by the IIB class. The remainder of the afternoon was spent in various types of racing and baseball. When the points of the day were totalled, IIB and IIA were announced the victors. As the sun sank to rest, the weary students winded their way to the street car, well satisfied with their first week at Normal.*⁸⁰

Certain components of the event stand out: the acceptable boisterousness, and cross-dressing, the staff as servants, the necessary inclusion of all normalites, and the awards. Each of these were important as technologies and micro-technologies in the various tactics of deconstructive reconstruction.

The introductory event was significant enough to get substantial coverage in the local paper.

Gay, Informal Reception

*The first social event of the term at the Normal took place on Friday evening, September, 16th. The occasion was an informal reception given by the members of the Normal school staff to the students. The assembly hall was gay with light and laughter. An entertaining evening had been planned that consisted of "athletic events." Basketball, Volleyball, the hundred-yard dash and the mile-run were dispatched with a gaiety that left no doubt of the athletic prowess of the new class of students. The mile-run on 'snow-shoes' was especially thrilling. Unfortunately the snow-shoes were not of the best material and they ripped! At 10:30 a delightful lunch was served by the members of the Normal and Practice [model] school staffs, after which a glowing camp-fire was magically built in the centre of the assembly hall. The students sat about it in a comradely circle, and regaled themselves and their listeners with old songs. The latter part of the evening was devoted to dancing. Then good-nights were said and after an evening that left nothing to be desired in the way of welcome and good time.*⁸¹

⁸⁰ CgNSYB, 1932-33, p.37. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

⁸¹ CC, September 21, 1932. Note the actions of servitude on the part of the staff. As will be explored, it was much modelled characteristic. See also article entitled

Reports in both yearbooks and newspapers ensured that the public and normalites alike would recognize and remember the events of the day, events which introduced normalites both to their new community, and to the exercise of institutional power.

THE INTERNAL ARCHITECTURE

Within the normal school, the internal architecture of the institution operated as a third technology of exposure. It was exercised in the form of three physical and administrative micro-technologies.⁸² These included the internal structure of the building, and the administrative arrangements which complimented it.

The internal physical architecture and layout of the Edmonton Normal School was founded solidly on open and public spaces, which promoted the possibility of constant surveillance.⁸³ It was an intentional design. At the

"Normal Students had Great Outing at Miquelon Lake" in CC, September 18, 1913. In Chapter Seven there is a brief discussion of the function of the practice school in teacher training.

⁸² There were several aspects to the physical architecture, some of which served as a technology of dispersion. This included the external architecture of the building, and it is explored in the next chapter.

⁸³ The use of the Edmonton Normal School here reflects both my access to the blueprints of that institution, and also the fact that this institution was promoted as one of the most modern of its type in Canada. As the last of the normal schools constructed in Alberta its architecture manifested what was believed to be the most effective structure, determined after trial and error at the Calgary and Camrose institutions, in addition to the study of other institutions elsewhere. As a Report on Teacher Certification confirmed *The building is built for its purpose after visitation and study of many normal schools.* Document prepared for the Committee on Teacher Education,

opening of the normal school, G.S. Lord commented on *some of the unusual features of the school, explaining that unlike buildings with a fine outside and an inside of sorts, this had been planned from the inside out.*⁸⁴ Lord was later to assert that *From the standpoint of utility the building has been very thoughtfully planned....*⁸⁵ Indeed, the author of the report for the Committee on Teacher Education asserted that *The building suits its purpose better than any normal school building in Canada.*⁸⁶

The structure of the Edmonton Normal School took the form of an upper case 'E.' Hallways were long and open, providing ready access to eyes so inclined. The principal's office was located in the front right-facing corner of the building, likely serving a dual function. A glance from his door would allow him to see down two hallways, the main one and a wing, with minimum effort. It was a view he must have routinely afforded himself. The editor of the 1929-30 Edmonton Normal School yearbook indicated that travel through the hallways was circumscribed by his gaze: *we who glide through its corridors - when Mr. Lord isn't looking....*⁸⁷ In fact, Lord's gaze was soon encoded. The third commandment of the Edmonton Normal School in 1937-38 stated that *Neither shalt thou commit acts of sprinting in the foyer, lest thou encountereth Dr. Lord.*⁸⁸ The gaze

N.D. (1935?). NSF, PAA 78.92-1.

⁸⁴ EB, January 4, 1930.

⁸⁵ NSAR, 1930, p.28.

⁸⁶ Document Prepared for the Committee on Teacher Education, N.D. (1935?). NSF, PAA 78.92-1.

⁸⁷ ENSYB, 1929-30, p.8. NSF, PAA 84.484-3.

⁸⁸ ENSYB, 1937-38, p.45. Private Collection. There were, of course, ten commandments.

crystallized into part of the normal experience.

The location of the principal's office could also be seen as the symbolic cornerstone of the institution. Adjacent to it was the general records depository. The two offices united to form the centre of knowledge for the institution: the master of the institution, and therefore of the technologies which supported it, and the compiled inventories of inmates. It was likely an intimidating corner.

The internal structure was constructed in such a way that all the major rooms which functioned to assemble and unify the normalites were in the centre of the building, the middle stroke of the 'E.' Here could be found the library, the auditorium, and the gymnasium. This centralizing organization suggests the prominence of consolidation within the normal school.

Visibility and unity were further promoted by the absence of private spaces -- normalite spaces -- within the institution. A study of the architectural layout for the main floor indicates that there were twenty-nine rooms. Five are identified as classrooms, eleven as offices, three as rooms for staff, and four as assembly-type rooms. The only student-oriented rooms were the bathrooms: two for boys and one for girls.⁸⁹ Privacy was at a premium. There were also other indications that private spaces for normalites were minimalized within the institution. For example, *With the approach of February 14, the social committee was often seen in Dr. Dickie's office carefully*

⁸⁹ Three additional rooms, which appear to be classrooms, are unidentified. A diagram exists for the third floor, but the function of the rooms are not marked. UAA, 70.138-21. E.W. Coffin suggested that, at the Calgary Normal School, *the girls' rest room serves not only for cases of temporary illness or fatigue, but as a quiet place for individual study.* NSAR, 1922, p.40.

*making plans for the St. Valentine's reception.*⁹⁰ Authority was invested in the owner of the space, and normalites, even when planning their own activities, were under the watchful eye of others.

A closer examination of various classrooms indicates the further importance of access, be it physical or visual, to normalites. Large, unobstructed windows⁹¹ made any questionable activity risky. Similarly, the observation area of the gymnasium was well above the floor, thereby rendering it difficult for students in the class to detect who, if anyone, was watching.⁹² Classrooms were often organized with the instructor's presence a foremost concern. Normalites were arranged in a fashion which ensured the instructor was the focus of attention. Activity-oriented classes placed the instructor in the centre of normalites, who generally surrounded him or her in a square.⁹³ The instructors' lectures took place in an amphitheatre, the very structure of which, an upper case "V", forced normalites to draw their attention to the instructor at the front of the class [see Photo 1].⁹⁴ It

⁹⁰ ENSYB, 1936-37, p.61. NSF, PAA 72.298-2.

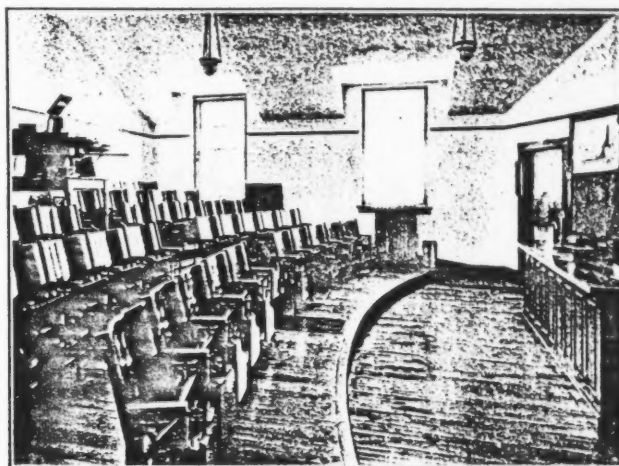
⁹¹ NSAR, 1913, pp.31, 32; and 1914, pp.30, 38. ENSYB, 1937-38, p.43. Private Collection. UAA, 70.138-48. Of course, through such windows the gaze potentially extended outward, on an unsuspecting community.

⁹² NSAR, 1920, p.48. This situation was mirrored in the practice school, where there were *Special demonstration rooms. This is an excellent and a necessary feature. Students can sit comfortably and see demonstrations, yet so unobtrusively that the practice school children are not disturbed.* Document Prepared for the Committee on Teacher Certification, N.D. (1935?). NSF, PAA 78.92-1.

⁹³ NSAR, 1913, p.32; and 1914, p.35.

⁹⁴ For example, the Amphitheatre, Lecture Room at Camrose Normal School, NSAR, 1914, p.29. Of course, this

was also not uncommon for classrooms in the normal school to have a space at the rear where the instructor could observe his or her class, unobserved by normalites.⁹⁵



AMPHITHEATRE, LECTURE ROOM, CAMROSE NORMAL SCHOOL.
PHOTO 1

The internal physical architecture of the normal school was supplemented by intangible, but equally effective, dual administrative architectures, consisting of the organization of the students and of the normal staff within the institution. While these architectures served to further separate normalites from their previous community, they primarily functioned to enhance the efficacy of the gaze under which normalites found themselves. To achieve this, the administrative architectures promoted intimacy. Indeed, intimacy was a crux of the tactic of exposure. In

classroom organization allowed for a reciprocal visibility, for while the normalites were always potential objects of the instructor's gaze, the instructors were never out of the gaze of the normalites.

⁹⁵ For example, see NSAR, 1914, p.30.

the words of G.S. Lord

*The policy of the school is directed towards securing an intimate knowledge of each student, so that the instruction and training given may be such as to meet his needs when he takes his place as a teacher.*⁹⁶

This intimate knowledge was sought through various micro-technologies, including relatively small, homogenized classes, and a highly proactive staff.

The mass of normalites accepted into a normal school was immediately refined upon arrival. A two-fold hierarchical division was imposed, which divided normalites primarily on the basis of ability and desire. Normalites were separated by class of certificate sought, and then further sub-divided by class. Division by certificate has previously been indicated. Newspapers found the separation significant enough to report; as early as 1917, the information could be found in the pages of the *Camrose Canadian*.⁹⁷ This public recognition marked the division as one of importance. Indeed, the refinement was of considerable consequence to normalites; it would come to inform much of their normal school experience.

An analysis of normal school yearbooks is illustrative. Until the later 1930's, photos of normalites were customarily organized in the aforementioned two-fold fashion [see Photo 2, next page].⁹⁸ Beyond considerations of ability and desire, as indicated by the class of certificate sought, the organization reflected other factors, as is evident from this statistical breakdown.

⁹⁶ NSAR, 1928, p.30.

⁹⁷ CC, January 4, 1917. The presence of this technology in both external and internal manifestations indicates the fluidity of power.

⁹⁸ By this time, most normalites pursued a first class degree. Photo from ENSYB, 1929-30, p.12. NSF, PAA 84.484-3.

CLASS IA
1929-30

Photo by
Gladys Reavis

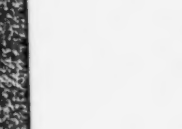
 Helen Lutz	 Gladys Reavis	 Zola Johnson	 Frances Jones	 Doris Howlett	 Lorna McFarlane	 Millie Chick	 Dorothy Wilson
 Olive Aiken	 Hazel Gordon	 Ethel George	 Frances Jones	 Hilda White	 Zoe Potter	 Isabel Miller	 Dorothy Gibson
 Margaret Bowers	 Mary Munro	 G. Leslie	 M. McNaughton	 Agnes Moran	 Frances Jones	 Isabel Miller	 Dorothy Gibson
 Thelma Reed	 Margaret Minney	 Joyce Wilson	 M. McNaughton	 Margaret Bowers	 Mary Munro	 Isabel Miller	 Dorothy Gibson

PHOTO 2

Camrose, 1929-30⁹⁹

Class IA - 25 (5 men; 20 women)
 Class IIA - 43 (30 men; 13 women)
 Class IIB - 45 (women)
 Class IIC - 44 (women)
 Class IID - 44 (women).

Edmonton, 1929-30¹⁰⁰

Class 1A - 35 (women)
 Class 1B - 39 (20 men; 19 women)
 Class 2A - 37 (men)
 Class 2B - 39 (women)
 Class 2C - 35 (women)
 Class 2D - 38 (women)
 Class 2E - 38 (women).

Calgary, 1929-30¹⁰¹

Class IA - 45 (19 men; 26 women)
 Class IB - 42 (women)
 Class IIA - 43 (men)
 Class IIB - 42 (women)
 Class IIC - 42 (women)
 Class IID - 43 (women)
 Class IIE - 43 (women).

Calgary, 1932-33¹⁰²

Class IA - 27 (men)
 Class IB - 27 (men)
 Class IC - 48 (women)
 Class ID - 47 (women)
 Class IE - 46 (women)
 Class IIA - 26 (men)
 Class IIB - 32 (women)
 Class IIC - 31 (women).

The statistics suggest that at least two other influences informed the division of normalites at each normal school: balanced class size, and gender of normalite.¹⁰³

These numbers indicate that the organization of normalites within the normal school was predicated on a structure of evenly divided, small classroom populations. The comparative figures from the Calgary Normal School

⁹⁹ CmNSYB 1929-30, pp. 8-32. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

¹⁰⁰ ENSYB, 1929-30, pp.12-44. NSF, PAA 84.484-3.

¹⁰¹ CgNSYB, 1929-30, pp.37-77. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

¹⁰² CgNSYB, 1932-33, pp.14-44. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

¹⁰³ The issue of gender is briefly discussed in Chapter Seven.

(1929-30 and 1932-33), demonstrate that with time the relatively even class division was maintained. Certainly, forty is still a large number, but it did represent a reduction from the more imposing number the instructor could have encountered. Why the smaller amount? Perhaps it suggests a certain efficiency, a belief that it is more effective to teach a smaller number of normalites than a larger number. Normalite involvement, or the opportunity for it, could be increased in such an environment. With fewer normalites to deal with at any one time, there was greater occasion for interaction between normalites and staff to flourish and, presumably, learning to occur.

However, smaller classes may well have belied something more than an attempt to merely enhance professional learning.¹⁰⁴ It magnified the efficiency of the institution. Functions would be less difficult to coordinate. The planning of academic activities by class could proceed without great consideration as to the inability of normalites to perform or to be unchallenged. This drive to efficiency was a powerful subcurrent within the institution; it did not go unnoticed to observers. The Camrose Canadian reported that *A most successful term is anticipated, as the school has reached a maximum of efficiency, and the students will start under ideal conditions.*¹⁰⁵ Efficiency was inherent in the technologies through which the tactic of exposure, and, ultimately, the

¹⁰⁴ The classroom organization also heightened normalite separation, though to a lesser degree than the other technologies. It further refined the coarser division of the normalites from the non-normalite community, by promoting normalite identification with a more familiar group.

¹⁰⁵ CC, August 10, 1916.

entire process of deconstructive reconstructive, operated.

The classroom manifestation of the architectural arrangement also provided powerful points of observation, thereby intensifying the gaze. It increased the instructor's ability to watch normalites, to know them. This visibility allowed the strengths and weaknesses (vis a vis the knowledges promoted within the institution) of normalites to be more readily identified. Such knowledge had a definite effect on the play of power within the institution. The intelligence gleaned from intimacy (for example, what a normalite knew, or did not; how a normalite would react to a certain situation) could be used in the process of deconstructive reconstruction.¹⁰⁶ Classes of limited size also allowed the instructor to establish more personal relationships with normalites, a result which undoubtedly enhanced the efficacy of power. Personalized attention made the normalite more likely to react in a positive fashion to the instructor's overtures, the institutional demands. Such intimacy, however, emerged much more fully in the non-academic activities of the staff.

The structural division of the administrative architecture were re-enforced by the micro-technology of staff functions, which provided more points of observation, thereby further magnifying the gaze. For example, it is apparent that each class was assigned a staff representative. In their autobiography of 1929-30, Class II of the Calgary Normal School, noted that *In addition to the Honorary President, Mr. Loucks, this notable group consists*

¹⁰⁶ Of course, intimacy also increased the normalite's knowledge of the instructor, ensuring that the latter act in ways which harmonized with the actions promoted within the institution. The operation of power sought to ensure that all whom it touched were affected by it. Its web provided little space for any resistance.

*of forty-three members.*¹⁰⁷ The exact nature of this position, whether ceremonial or more active, is not clear.

Other staff duties ensured that they were very active in non-academic realms within the normal schools. Again, the normal school yearbooks provide an excellent record of those experiences. They indicate that virtually every normal event or enterprise was either supervised by, or under the watchful of, a member of the normal staff.

The Student Council: *Nor should we forget the help and guidance which was given by members of the Staff, especially that of Mr. Loucks who acted as Staff Representative and greatly increased the efficiency of the Council.*¹⁰⁸

The yearbook committee: *The staff representatives, Miss McKinlay and Mr. Doucette, offered useful advice, mended our broken English and censored our jokes thoughtfully.*¹⁰⁹

The first social: *Thus began the real social activities of the school. The guests were received by Dr. Coffin, Miss Fisher, Miss McDougall and Mr. James.*¹¹⁰

The Natural History Club: *Early in October, all members of the student body interested in Natural History enjoyed a get together meeting at which Mr. McCalla outlined the purpose of the Natural History Club, and the activities of the organization in former years.*¹¹¹

Inter-Normal Sports: *On Saturday, May 8, a group of girls from the Camrose Normal arrived in Edmonton, accompanied by Miss Hastie, Mr. Doucette, and Mr. Swift of the Camrose staff.*¹¹²

School outings: *About eighteen of the Normalites joined Miss Burnett and Miss Dickie in a hike on Saturday.*

¹⁰⁷ CgNSYB, 1929-30, p.70. NSF, PAA 84.484-1. Loucks was an English instructor.

¹⁰⁸ CgNSYB, 1930-31, p.15. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

¹⁰⁹ ENSYB, 1929-30, p.8. NSF, PAA 84.484-3.

¹¹⁰ Coffin (the principal) and Fisher were staff members. CgNSYB, 1930-31, p.15. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

¹¹¹ CgNSYB, 1932-33, p.47. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

¹¹² ENSYB, 1936-37, p.73. NSF, PAA 72.298-2.

*It was in the way of being a new experience to most of the girls who not only enjoyed the walk very much but also the sensation they caused after by remarking, "We walked seven miles."*¹¹³

One might also examine the photos which invariably filled the normal school yearbooks. In virtually every photo of extra-curricular activities a staff representative was prominently present, indeed, often central [see Photo 3, next page].¹¹⁴

The intense extra-curricular involvement of normal staff undoubtedly reflected part of what they considered to be the teacher's inventory. Contribution to extra-curricular activities was a service which helped to more fully develop the student, and thus was part of the teacher's responsibility. Given the limited period during which normalites attended normal school, time was also of the essence. Thus, instructor involvement enhanced the speed with which activities could begin. The inexperience and nervousness of students, a considerable number young and away from home for the first time, probably made it imperative that the instructors initiate activities to encourage/ensure normalite involvement.¹¹⁵

The academic and extracurricular activities of normal staff were designed not merely to enhance the normalite's training experience. They were also particularly intimate micro-technologies in the exercise of power. For, like the physical architecture, the administrative architecture operated to enhance the visibility of the normalites; it

¹¹³ CC, September 28, 1917.

¹¹⁴ Calgary Normal School Basketball Champions. "A" Collection. Photographic Collections. PAA A-4741.

¹¹⁵ Both the inventory and the actions to hasten the unity of normalites will be examined more fully in the analysis of the tactic of investiture, in Chapter Seven.



PHOTO 3

exposed them, ensuring a relatively authoritarian, omnipresent gaze. Staff activities facilitated a knowledge of normalites in more intimate terms than could have possibly been achieved with large class groups, or purely academic pursuits. Links thus achieved, and the knowledge thus garnered, were part of the exercise of power. They provided ledges which the technologies of dispersion and investiture could grasp. Extra-curricular activities also enhanced the normalite's dependency on staff. Every activity which he or she participated in found an instructor at its centre, or its top, thus assuring a relationship of subservience.

Staff participation in extra-curricular activities was not the only extension of the architecture of the gaze beyond the walls of the institution. The gaze reached into the private lives of those boarding away from home.

*Living Arrangements Teachers-in-training board in private houses in the neighbourhood of the schools.... Lists of approved boarding houses are kept on file at the schools and these may be consulted at any time.... In every case the boarding place of students must be approved by the Principal.*¹¹⁶

Normalites who thus boarded lived within the view of the normal school; its presence was virtually inescapable. A similar directive of a decade later was even more specific. It included the same conditions as above, but added that *Men and women students are required to live in separate houses. Women students will not be permitted to occupy rooms in houses or blocks where no supervision is possible.*¹¹⁷ G.S. Lord indicated the active characteristic

¹¹⁶ ANSA, 1921-22, p.13.

¹¹⁷ ANSA, 1931-32, p.7. On the subject of living arrangements, the ANSA for 1940-41 mentions only the probable cost of boarding. See p.6.

of the gaze. Under the rubric of concern for the health of normalites, he wrote that *boarding places have been visited, and in some cases action has been taken.* However, he admitted that inspection revealed that *living conditions here are generally very good.*¹¹⁸

The *Camrose Canadian* was filled with reports that demonstrated that the gaze, in the case of Camrose at least, saw beyond the town limits, and effected all who were within the institution. The activities of normalites, staff and support staff were common features in the paper. Usually, the information was brief and concise. *Gordon McPhee and his sister, Miss Velma McPhee, who is attending Normal School, were in Edmonton for the holiday.*¹¹⁹ *Miss Winnifred Marshall, secretary of the Normal school, spent the weekend in Edmonton. Miss E.K. Johnston and Miss Hastie, of the Normal school staff, spent the weekend in Edmonton.*¹²⁰ *Miss Eleanor Kendel of Mundare, Camrose Normal School student, is a patient in St. Mary's hospital.*¹²¹ *F.H. "Bill" Holmes of the Normal school student group, was called to his home on Sunday evening due to the death of his father.*¹²² Even the pinnacle of institutional authority, the principal, did not escape this gaze. *W.A. Stickle is in Edmonton this week working with the committee on the revision of the curriculum of the schools.*¹²³ On the opening of the Camrose Normal School in 1937, it was reported that

¹¹⁸ NSAR, 1931, p.32.

¹¹⁹ CC, November 15, 1923.

¹²⁰ CC, September 27, 1928.

¹²¹ CC, March 31, 1937.

¹²² CC, May 24, 1933.

¹²³ CC, December 29, 1921.

*Among members of the staff who have returned to town is Mr. G.F. Manning, who spent the summer in Chicago doing post-graduate work.*¹²⁴

Occasionally, the information presented in the newspaper was more detailed.

*Two more young men from the Normal have enlisted in the 5th University Corps. Chas. B. Sarjeant whose home is at Bawlf, and Wm. J. Gillispie whose parents live at Daysland [sic]. These young men will join the corps at Edmonton on Monday and expect to leave for the East before Christmas.*¹²⁵

Occasionally, the gaze followed ex-normalites, as was the case with Donald Phillips.

*Jealous of his attentions to Miss Marjorie Colby, Donald Philips, attending the University of Toronto, shot Richard Taylor, slightly wounding him, last Thursday. Mr. Philips, who is a talented cartoonist, attended Camrose Normal school and Alberta university where he was greatly liked.*¹²⁶

In the case of Buelah McIntyre, the news report foreshadowed the scrutiny she would be under.

*The Misses Ruth and Emma Kay entertained at a charming tea on Wednesday evening in honor of Miss Buelah McIntyre, who is leaving early in the new year for Camrose, where she will attend normal. Intimate friends of the guest who were present were....*¹²⁷

The cumulative impact of these various technologies of the gaze operated to ensure its maximum efficiency. Privacy was a precious commodity.

The effect of the operation of exposure, when

¹²⁴ CC, September 1, 1937.

¹²⁵ CC, December 16, 1915.

¹²⁶ CC, January 31, 1924.

¹²⁷ CC, January 3, 1924. This report was first noted in the *Edmonton Journal*, which suggests that this particular technology of the gaze was also active at that institution. An examination of the *Journal*, however, indicates that it was uncommon.

successful, was to ensure the collection of a group of similar individuals who were encouraged to perceive themselves as different from the community at large. Power seeks to reduce multiplicities, a process which the NER initiated within the normal school. Rituals of separation enhanced group singularity. The micro-technologies of the architecture operated as conforming agencies, ensuring that the normalite, who could escape observation only with difficulty, was a relatively constant site of conflict. With the site established, the struggle really began with the attack of the disabling tactic of dispersion.

CHAPTER 6
THE TACTIC OF DISPERSION

DISPERSION

Just what difference does a course in the teaching profession make to the ordinary student? On the first morning, September 3 "n'est-ce pas?", a young hopeful trudges up the weary hill to enter the majestic building which stands at the top. Whether he hails from high school, university, a summer beneath a mellow Banff moon, his head feels pretty well crammed with definitions, formulas, logarithms, Shakespeare, poetry, Latin and just about everything one would want to know. But oh! great is the fall thereof! The first shock comes when he is informed that the greater part of his theory is pure bunk, and he can't half practice what he preaches. Besides, he has been taught by old-fashioned methods that were long since completely discarded beyond the "pale", and replaced, in the best regulated families, by a revolutionized education. And he discovers to his grief that in piling up this data, he has even forgotten his Grade VIII Arithmetic. Despair is complete.

Philosophia,
 Calgary Normal School¹

The tactic of dispersion operates to establish a series of intensely emotional reactions, including, for example, awe, confusion, and anxiety. Dispersion functions to ensure the individual's receptivity to the knowledges and processes promoted within the institution. The tactic establishes the foundation for the construction of desire (in this case, to harmonize oneself with institutional demands), the essence of deconstructive reconstruction.

Within the normal school, three technologies of dispersion were particularly prominent. First, there was the physical environment. The buildings were massive structures; isolated and prominent, they bespoke permanence

¹ From an article entitled *Before - And After*. CgNSYB, 1929-30, p.13. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

and certainty. This silent, yet commanding voice commonly rendered normalites awestruck, particularly at first contact. Second, practice teaching placed normalites in a disorienting, alien situation, often characterized by confusion and insecurity. Permeated by observation, practice teaching was a technology which acted as a forceful agency of conformity. Finally, the examination was a technology which reminded normalites that their actions and knowledges were being evaluated. As a technology of dispersion, the content assessed was of less significance than the fixed, unblinking eyes which measured, and the consequences attached to successful evaluation. Ultimately, anxiety was the fruit of dispersion, bitter if one failed to master the knowledges promoted within the institution.

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The most discernable technology of dispersion was the physicality of the imposing institution.² The location of the normal school considerably informed this arresting physicality. Three of the four teacher training institutions were constructed on hills. In Camrose, *The site of the Normal School consist[ed] of ten acres ideally located on a low hill overlooking the town.*³ In Calgary, *A commanding site on the heights to the north-west of the city...[was] secured for the location of the city's second*

² This technology is different from the internal physical architecture explored as a technology of exposure: as will be seen, it was not meant to enhance the efficacy institutional gaze. Rather, its impact was primarily inspirational.

³ NSAR, 1916, p.29.

normal school.⁴ It was reported that *The session of 1922-23...opened on August 29th, 1922, in the new building on the North Hill.*⁵ G.S. Lord, the Principal of the Edmonton Normal School, extolled September 23rd as

*a momentous date in the life of this Normal School. For the first time in its history, it occupied its own building. The site of the building is well chosen, being on a low hill and across the continuation of Whyte Avenue. The grounds are spacious....*⁶

The carefully chosen locations of the normal school were likely not without purpose. The common geography suggests more than mere coincidence; it implies design.

The geographical prominence of the institutions did not go unnoticed by contemporary observers. Indeed, the judicious consideration which went into normal school site selection implies that the location of construction reflected a desire to ensure not only the observer's comment, but a comment of a specifically laudatory nature. The process of site selection, in the case of the Camrose Normal School, was detailed in the *Camrose Canadian*.

Geo. P. Smith [M.P.P., Camrose] in fulfilment of his promise made at the citizens' meeting two weeks ago, appointed a local committee of three to make a recommendation as to the suitability of various proposed sites. The committee was composed of D. Sampson, acting mayor of the town, J. Harris, President of the Board of Trade, and R.D. Fleming, chairman of the School Board.

*After careful consideration, and after hearing the various views of all classes of citizens on the matter, the committee made a decision on a first and second choice, either of which will receive the unanimous endorsement of the citizens of the town.*⁷

⁴ ANSA, 1921-22, p.9.

⁵ NSAR, 1922, p.37.

⁶ ENSYB, 1929-30, p.5. NSF, PAA 84.484-3. For a listing of normal school principals, see Appendix I.

⁷ CC, August 12, 1912.

Hon. C.R. Mitchell, minister of public works, arrived in Camrose on Saturday last to decide on one of two sites that had been selected for the location of the provincial normal school.

Mr. Mitchell, in company with Geo. P. Smith, M.P.P., and R.D. Fleming, chairman of the school board, drove over the respective properties and had no difficulty in deciding that the most desirable situation, taking the elevation of the land and the future growth of the town into consideration, was on the property which crowns the hill on Mount Pleasant sub-division. This gives a beautiful view of the valley and enables the property with the handsome building which will occupy it to be shown to the best advantage....

The announcement of the location of this important site has met with general satisfaction as it is the general opinion among Camrose citizens that no more imposing situation could possibly be secured.⁸

The report in the Edmonton Bulletin, on the opening of the most northerly teacher training institution, shared this enthusiasm. *Like a coronet upon the brow of a hill, the new Edmonton Normal School was aglow with light on Friday evening, when a large number of citizens attended the official opening.*⁹

In the eyes of both the local citizenry (particularly in Camrose and Calgary) and normalites, the hill effectively merged with the institution, an inseparable unity which isolated and significantly defined the normal school and, ultimately, experiences therein. In Camrose, for example, the hill on which the normal school stood became known colloquially as Normal Hill. The Camrose Canadian noted that *Mr. and Mrs. Elliot have moved from Normal Hill*¹⁰, and, later, that *Work is going forward on the addition to the Alberta Bible Institute on Normal*

⁸ CC, August 12, 1912.

⁹ EB, January 4, 1930.

¹⁰ CC, October 27, 1921.

*school hill.*¹¹ The normal school had integrated itself into the structure of the local community.

Perhaps of greater significance was the impact which the location had on normalites; it transcended mere physical experience. The location informed their teacher training experiences, and infiltrated their memories. *Snow on the hill, ice on the dam. Footsore Normalites toiling upward, burdened with books, and fur collars.*¹² Calgary normalite G.E. Taylor, class 2A, wrote, *The Building on the Hill*

*Once I stood in the streets of Calgary,
And I felt, oh, such a thrill,
As I thought that someday, I might enter
That building on the hill.*

*At last the happy moment came,
And I went there with a will -
To learn the art of pedagogy,
in that building on the hill.*¹³

Demonstrating the definitive transcendence, in a short story, entitled *Ghosts at Normal*, inmate Reg Turner wrote of a dead normalite, his also deceased mother, and their tour of the normal school.

*See that moth-eaten flag; the Normal School is underneath it. It's sure fine to be able to get there without walking up the hill..... [sic] Yes, I could have ridden in the street car, but you know how tight the old man is with the cash.*¹⁴

Apparently, the long, hard walk was expected to be memorable even in death.

¹¹ CC October 20, 1937.

¹² CC, November 2, 1932.

¹³ There are three additional stanzas which further illuminate Taylor's experience. CgNSYB, 1929-30, p.53. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

¹⁴ CgNSYB, 1930-31, p.59. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

The external architecture of the normal school thus had a fundamentally corporeal function: it served as a point from which to see, just as it was constructed to be seen; it separated and segregated inmates. Visibility was informed by a reciprocal integration. Resting on a hill-top, or otherwise isolated, the presence of the normal school to passer-bys was enhanced. The location substantially guaranteed that eyes were not likely ignore the building. Similarly, the lofty location ensured that the impact of the normal school would be extensive. The institution stood sentry over its domain. From the normal school much of the surrounding area could be seen; little remained hidden. Just as the prominence of the location ensured visibility, it also achieved separation. And, as it was physically separated from the surrounding environment, it simultaneously segregated those who participated in its internal activities. It was an institution intentionally set apart.

The isolation of the institution was further enhanced by what was often a substantial and carefully constructed commons, necessarily traversed to reach the entrance of the institution. At the Camrose Normal School,

*A comprehensive scheme for the satisfactory disposition of these grounds had been worked out.... A terrace in front adds materially to the general appearance of the building. On either side of the terrace, clumps of trees and flowering shrubs have been planted, while directly in front of the main entrance beds brilliant with tulips delight the eyes of the visitor during May and June.*¹⁵

A further examination of the grounds of the Edmonton Normal School demonstrates the prudent consideration which went into their construction. The grounds, for example, were

¹⁵ NSAR, 1916, p.29.

twenty-five acres in extent.¹⁶ *The entire front, from the building to 112th Street, has been terraced...*¹⁷, and the effect was likely impressive. Providing pedestrian access to the front entrance, the terrace was meticulously sculptured. From a low point of 92 feet at the eastern boundary of the grounds of the institution, the system of terraces elevated to over 109 feet, at the base of the institution [see Blueprint 1, next page].¹⁸

The Normal School Buildings

Passer-bys, then, in Calgary, Camrose, and Edmonton were required to raise their eyes to consider what crowned the hill. As they stopped and gazed, what sight confronted them?

Undoubtedly, the five columns, two stories in height, which were the focal point of the first Calgary normal school acted as viewing magnets [see Figure 1].¹⁹ Supported firmly on those columns were the large raised letters "NORMAL SCHOOL". If the viewer's could be drawn away from those, he or she would encounter the British flag flying another two stories above, or the three archways which provided the frontal entrances to the institution. A virtually square design imbued the institution with a certain permanent quality.

¹⁶ NSAR, 1929, p.30.

¹⁷ NSAR, 1930, p.29.

¹⁸ Edmonton Normal School Blueprints. UAA 70.138-52.

¹⁹ NSAR, 1907, p.i.

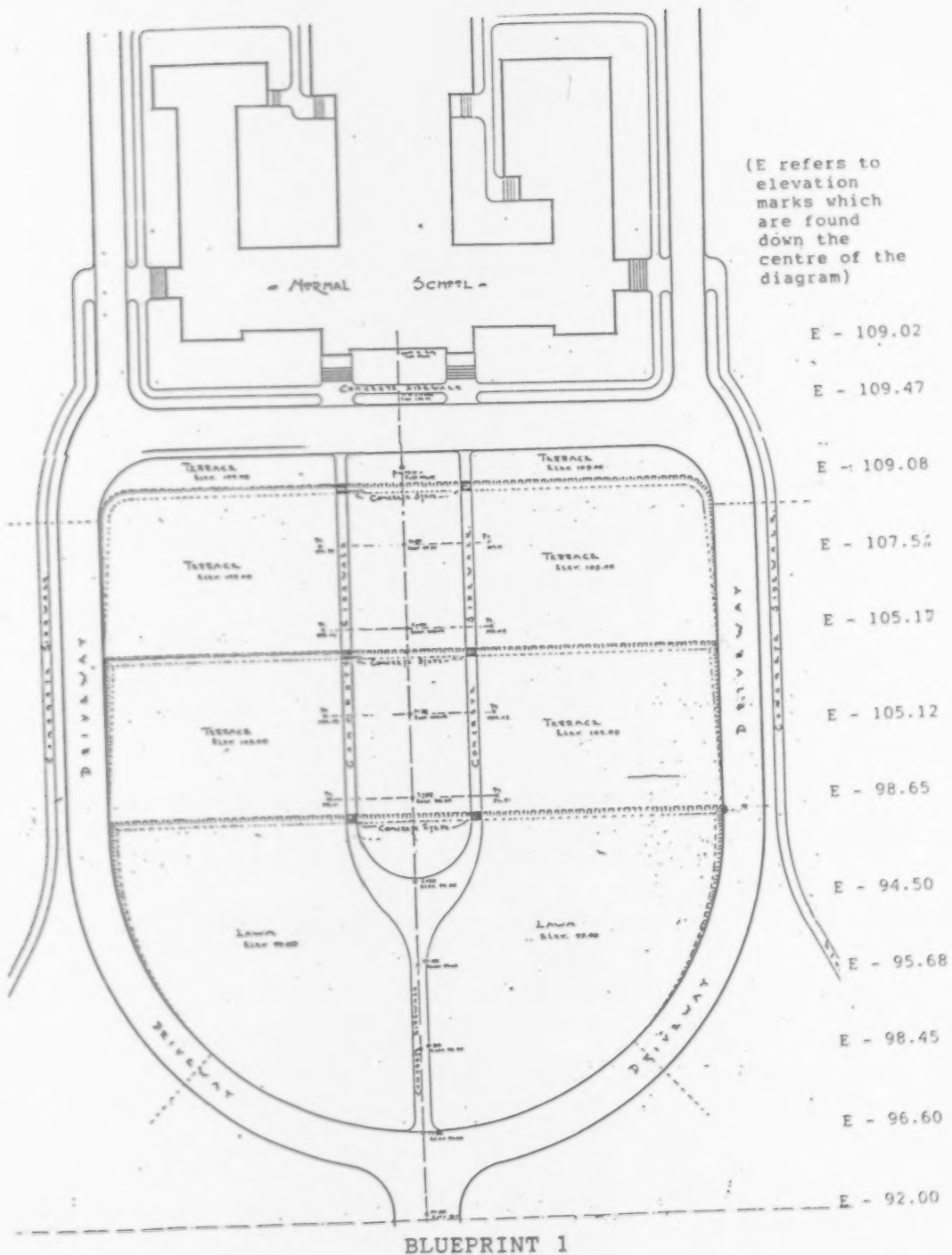




FIGURE 1

The institutions were constructed to effectively dominate from their stately positions. To achieve this end, each of the normal schools possessed similar characteristics, in different degrees. None were less than three stories high, and three of them, the two Calgary and the Camrose institutions erupted some five stories skyward. In fact, the commanding feature of the second Calgary normal school was a pair of towers, exceeding five stories, flanking the main entrance of the building [see Photo 1].²⁰

²⁰ CgNSYB, 1932-33, p.3. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

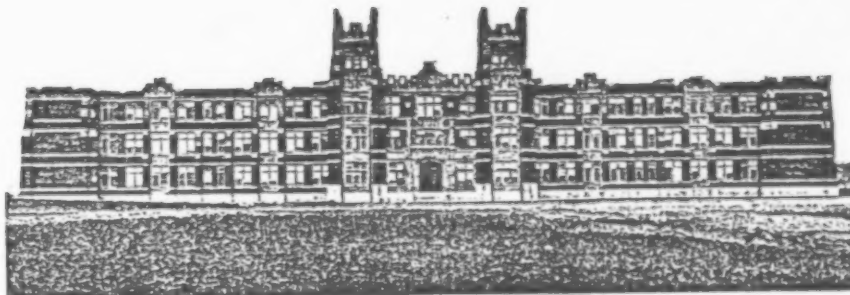


PHOTO 1

The Camrose normal school also featured a pair of towers [see Photo 2, page 173]²¹ They were much less imposing than the ones which dominated the Calgary institution, giving more the appearance of a pair of turrets, very similar to what one might find in an Arthurian castle. The prominently billowing British flag enhanced the medieval resemblance.

Unlike the others, the Edmonton normal school was not terribly tall. Rather, its presence was enhanced by its length, a sprawling mass of red brick and grey stone [see Photo 3, page 174]²² Detailed examinations of sections of the Edmonton Normal School proclaim its authority. Bay windows, over ten feet in height, and grouped to extend to some fifteen feet in width, promoted reciprocal visibility. With the school crest at its base, and culminating in an arrow's apex pointing to the heavens, the window was well

²¹ Camrose Normal School Building, "A" Collection. Photographic Collections. PAA A-11923.

²² Edmonton Normal School Building, Alfred Blyth Collection. Photographic Collection. PAA BL-78.

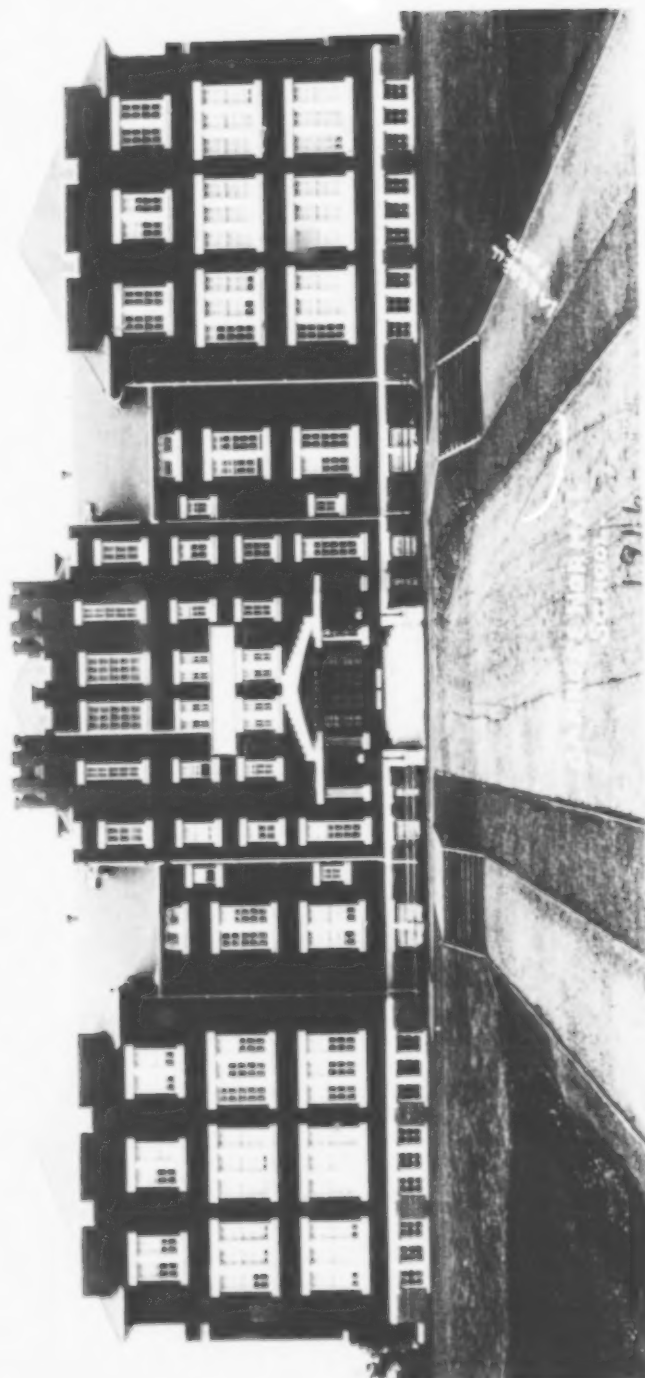


PHOTO 2

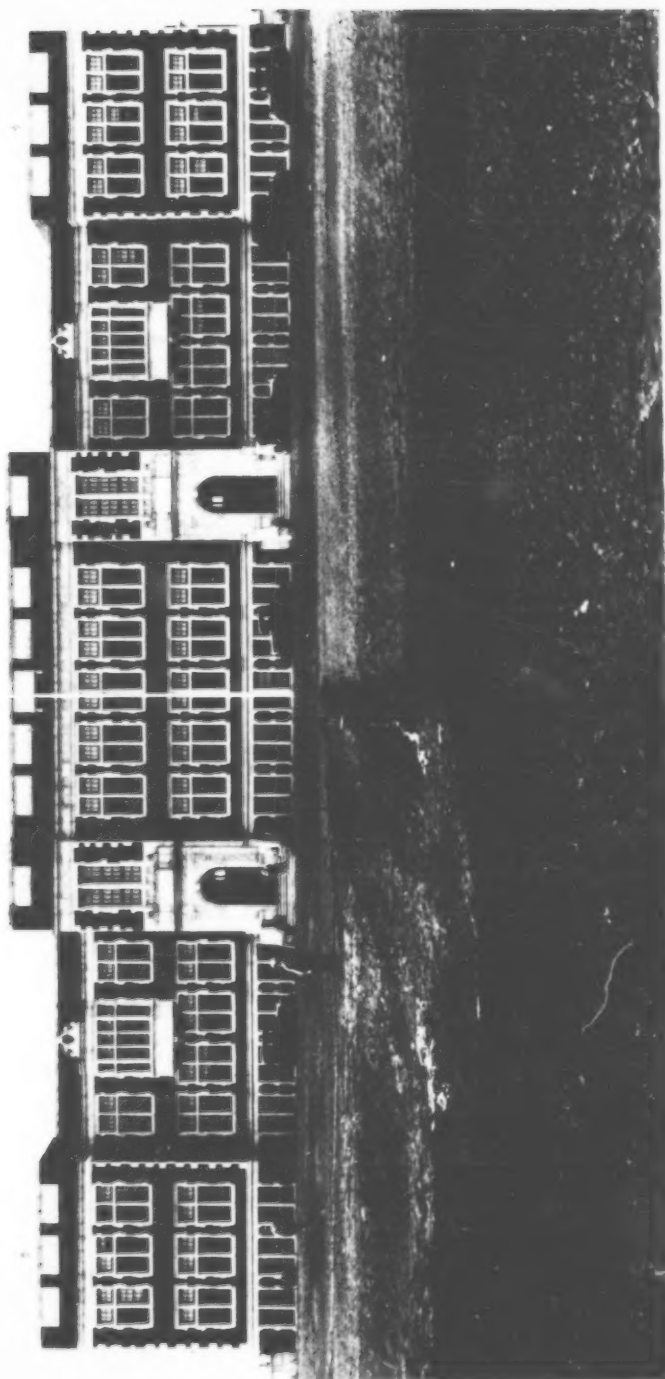
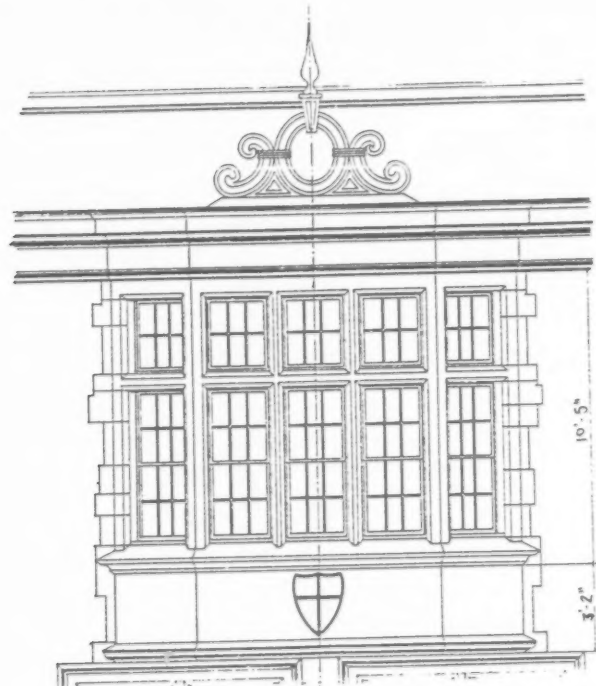


PHOTO 3

balanced, magnetic [see Blueprint 2].²³



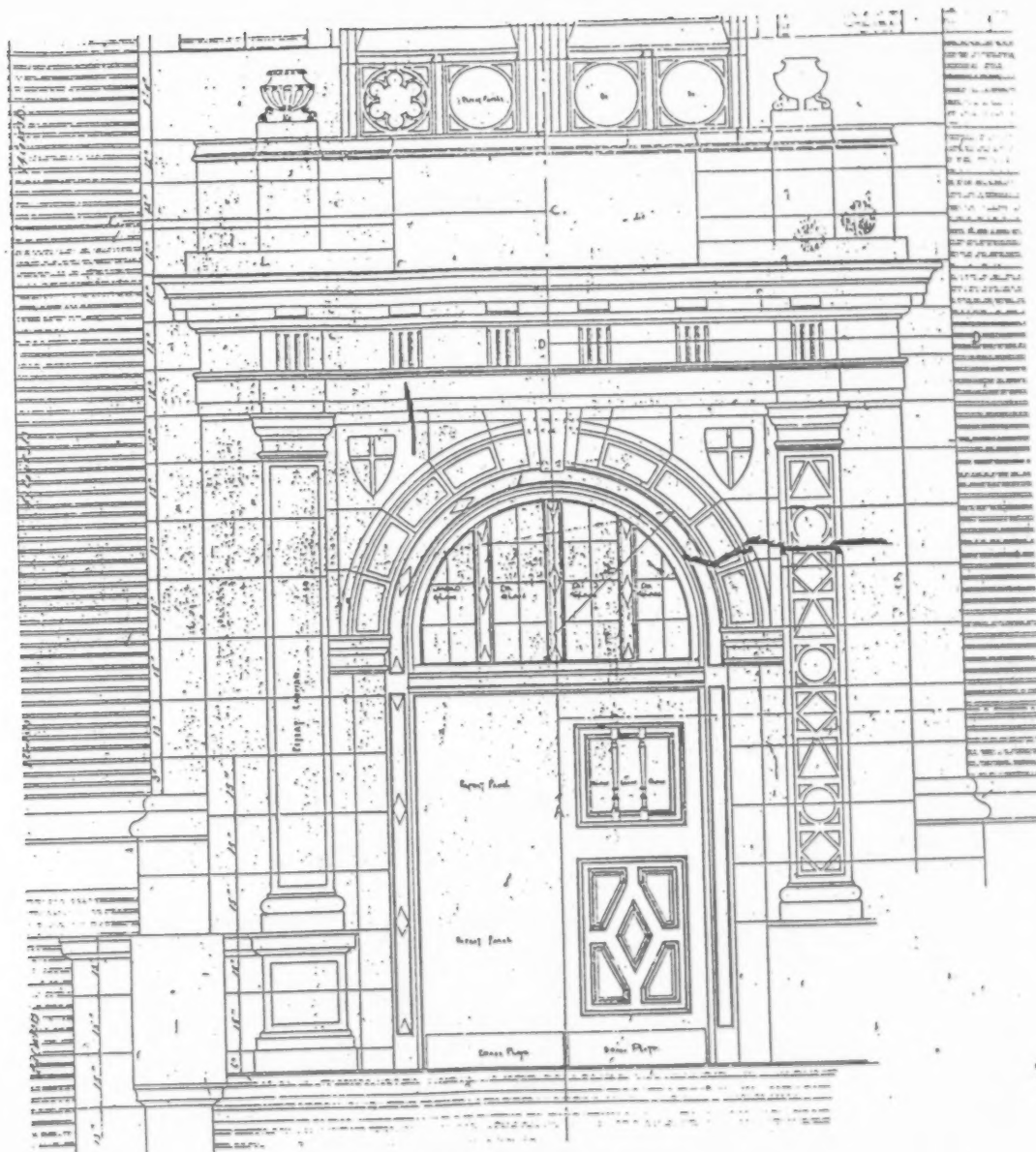
BLUEPRINT 2

Order permeated the commanding front entrance. Stairs led to the door, which was flanked with decorated columns, and accentuated with brass plate, panelling and glass. Twin school crests punctuated the leaded glass archway over the door. The institution exuded an undeniably regal air [see Blueprint 3, next page]²⁴.

What did these architectures mean? It has already emerged that they dominated the scene, but they also impressed. Visitors to the Camrose Normal School were *...unanimous in their expression of admiration of the*

²³ Edmonton Normal School Blueprints. UAA 70.138-48.

²⁴ Edmonton Normal School Blueprints. UAA 70.138-45.



BLUEPRINT 3

*beautiful and commodious building.*²⁵ This was a not uncommon sentiment, expressed by guests to each of the normal schools. The Edmonton Normal School, for example, was described as a *palatial building*.²⁶ Arguably, the various features which ultimately culminated in the massive architectures also possessed implicit meanings beyond their structural domination and impressiveness. Columns indicated truth. Towers and turrets demonstrated the safekeeping function of the institutions. The stone and brick resonated stability. The British flag proclaimed the connection to the motherland, to the ideals of Empire. United, these features culminated in an overwhelming sense of security. What did they protect? At the very least that which was safely contained within its walls, and visibly proclaimed to all who encountered the institutions: normality, and the importance of the teacher in maintaining it.

The normal schools, their location and surroundings, imposing and isolated, engendered inspirational sentiments of awe. Certainty oozed from the normal schools; they, and what transpired within their confines, were not to be questioned. Thus, from the normalite's initial contact with the institution to the day he or she departed, the building and its environment stood as seemingly impenetrable monuments to correct and desirable ways of teacher thought and action.

PRACTICE TEACHING

The importance of practice teaching as a component of teacher training cannot be exaggerated. As E.W. Coffin,

²⁵ CC, October 15, 1914.

²⁶ EJ, January 4, 1920.

Principal of the Calgary Normal School, noted, *The practice teaching is, of course, the sine qua non of the course whatever else has to be omitted or condensed.*²⁷ W.D.

McDougall, Principal of the Edmonton Normal School Practice School explained what he considered to be the reasons for its importance.

*Practice Teaching has been a unique and stimulating experience. In general, the lessons taught have been thoughtfully prepared and efficiently presented. Poise and power have been developed. The hesitant, uncertain, rather bewildered individual of November has become confident, assured and clear-thinking, capable of making a half-hour lesson a profitable and stimulating experience to a group of children.... There is no student in the school - whether a success or failure in his teaching - but is leaving with a more mature character, a more forceful personality and a greater social charm than he possessed last September.*²⁸

Thus, practice teaching was rooted in a rather mechanistic, business-like model of the teacher. The development of the individual attributes of character, personality and charm would culminate in an teacher who could produce dividends once in a school. The transformation to this standard, then, was integral to practice teaching.

W.A. Stickle, Principal of the Camrose Normal School, elaborated on his perception of the function of practice teaching. It sought *the detection and correction of a student's special weaknesses, and...to establish methods based on the teaching of the Normal School staff.*²⁹ As Stickle makes clear, practice teaching did not merely revolve around a pre-determined cluster of desirable attributes, it operated on the premise of deficiency: it focused on what the normalite did not have, and sought to

²⁷ NSAR, 1920, p.51.

²⁸ ENSYB, 1929-30, p.7. NSF, PAA 84.484-3.

²⁹ NSAR, 1922, p.45.

rectify that inadequacy in accordance with what the normal staff modelled. The actions of normalites were structured under the guise of proper teaching methods. Practice teaching functioned to make the normalite aware of his or her deficiencies, and, more importantly, to ensure that he or she would willingly remove those defects. Insofar as it achieved a frame of mind in the normalite characterized by considerations of anxiety and despair, practice teaching was a valuable technology of dispersion. To understand its operation as a technology, some brief outline as to its development and function, from the point of view of the teacher trainers, is first necessary.

Practice teaching was a component in the teacher training program in Alberta from the beginning. During the four month course of 1906, observation work and practice teaching consumed most of the third and fourth months. Both activities took place in the company of fellow normalites and instructors.

The students-in-training who have had previous experience in teaching are requested to teach the first lessons. They are asked to prepare lesson-plans showing clearly the aims of the lesson and indicating the nature of the subject-matter they intend to use, the method that they will adopt and the apparatus of which they will make use. These lesson plans are handed to the group-leader who is a member of the Normal School staff, are thoroughly discussed, changes, if necessary, are suggested, and an opportunity is given to amend the lesson-plan in accordance with the suggestions made. The lessons are then taught in the class-room in the presence of other members of the group who are instructed to note carefully the excellences and defects of the lesson. The students meet afterwards in their respective groups for the purpose of discussing the lesson which has been taught. The student who has taught the lesson receives from the group-leader a friendly criticism of her work. A written report of every lesson is made by the group leader in a book especially provided for the purpose. When the number of experienced teachers is exhausted, those who have

*had no experience are asked to teach.*³⁰

From the start, then, essential components of practice teaching were the construction of a lesson plan, the teaching of that plan, a criticism of both, and the compilation of a record which indicated the normalite's teaching ability.

By 1908, a Practice School had been opened to operate in conjunction with the Calgary Normal School.³¹ *This school affords an opportunity for observation by students of the Normal School of the work of skilled teachers and for practice in teaching.* The teachers at the Practice School were selected from among the best in Alberta, and, as part of their duties, were to model appropriate teaching techniques, and to act as critics of normalite efforts.³² Five years later, in 1913, normalites were teaching an average of eight lessons (per session), of as many different types, and in as many grades, as was possible. *Criticism of this practice teaching was given by the full Normal Staff as well as by the Practice School Staff, and each instructor in the Normal School, while paying*

³⁰ NSAR, 1906, p.38.

³¹ G.J. Bryan, Principal of the Calgary Normal School elaborated on the relationship between the normal school, the practice school, and the Calgary School Board: *In 1906 the Department of Education entered into a satisfactory agreement with the Board of Trustees of the Calgary Public School with respect to the establishment of a Practice School. The [practice] school is to all intents and purposes one of the ward schools of the city [of Calgary]. It is however under the control of the Department of Education as far as the engagement of teachers, the discipline and general management are concerned. The teachers are paid a bonus by the Provincial Government for acting as critic teachers. There is no indication as to whether or not the pupils of the practice school were specially selected.* NSAR, 1908, p.39.

³² NSAR, 1908, p.39.

particular attention to lessons in his own department made an effort to see a maximum number of students in their practice teaching.³³

Practice teaching was an invaluable conduit for the gaze.

In 1921-22 normalites were informed that

*A very important phase of teacher training is the opportunity for observation of good class-room organization and procedure as well as responsible teaching practice. An effort is made to grade the practice in such a way as to include all degrees of responsibility from that of merely helping the regular teacher with the mechanics of her work to that of complete control and responsibility for an entire session. Conferences with supervising teachers or student groups or both follow each lesson.*³⁴

By 1923, it was evident that the effect of these practice teaching directives at the Camrose Normal School was to refine the organization of the activity. Observation and apprentice-teaching had

*the students of each class observing for one day and assisting for another day in each of three class-rooms [in the practice school]. This preliminary practice teaching was of decided benefit in acquainting the students with the actual class-room conditions, and in some respects was of greater value than the formal practice lessons which were assigned later.*³⁵

The enhanced value of this preliminary practice teaching effort probably reflects the constant presence of normal or practice school instructors at the location. The expansion of teacher training was likely a result of the lengthening of the period of normal instruction, from four to eight months, in September, 1918.³⁶

³³ NSAR, 1913, pp.29, 31.

³⁴ ANSA, 1921-22, p.15.

³⁵ NSAR, 1923, p.49.

³⁶ NSAR, 1919, p.38. The fact that the length of the teacher training course was extended during World War I, when there was still a considerable demand for teachers,

In 1928 there was a substantive change in the operation of student teaching in Calgary, which resulted in a considerable increase in practice teaching for normalites.

This session, by arrangement between the Minister and the Calgary Public and Separate School Boards, students were admitted, two per room, for the forenoons of two weeks, into 180 rooms of the city schools. Here they spent the Monday forenoons in observation, and the remaining days of each week in teaching, each student receiving two assignments per day. The afternoons during this period were spent at the Normal School in preparation for this teaching, so that the regular class programme of the Normal School was suspended. By this provision each student had the opportunity of a maximum of sixteen lessons, and in addition from three to five in the Practice School, which, of course, continued its regular service. However the city teachers may have felt about this little intrusion into their class-room routine, they gave our students the most considerate treatment, and the most cordial spirit prevailed between "host" and "guest." We could not expect the same detail of report and criticism as from the Practice School, but the students got, at least, a more extensive practice.³⁷

The failure of this new approach to intimately illuminate normalite deficiencies ensured that it could only be a poor cousin to the practice school, and criticism which the normalite received under the auspices of normal staff therein. But it undoubtedly enhanced normalite anxiety, for it guaranteed that the normalite remained in an awkward position, with the dynamics of guest and host coming into play.

In an effort to enhance the efficacy of teacher training a new feature was introduced at the Edmonton

tends to call into question assertions which suggest that issues of quantity dictated to matters of quality. The need for teachers came secondary to their improved training (though, of course, less well-trained "conditioned" teachers appeared on the scene to address poor supply).

³⁷ NSAR, 1928, pp.24-5.

Normal School in 1931. It was a preliminary phase of practice teaching referred to as "Participation". This activity was designed to orient normalites to teaching from the start of their normal school experience.

*To this end, after eight days of school, our students spent 1 1/2 hours a day for four days in the practice school observing the work of the room and performing simple duties as directed by the teacher. They were required to report fully on what they learned.*³⁸

Practice teaching was considered to be an important enough activity to expose normalites to it as quickly as possible.

Innovations were also initiated at the Calgary Normal School. In January, 1932,

*...an apprentice form of practice teaching was introduced. Under this plan the students were distributed, two per class-room for two consecutive half days, amongst certain rooms of the city schools which had not been used for practice purposes during the fall term. Formal reports were not required and the students were given as large a share in the work of the room as was found convenient, in some cases being given sole charge for part of the period.*³⁹

In addition to this apprenticeship, normalites spent four days in rural observation and practice teaching, and two weeks teaching in the city schools, during which every student [was]...observed and reported on in detail by at least two members of the staff, and from five to ten formal reports on teaching [were]...filed for each student.⁴⁰

Indeed, practice teaching reports were becoming increasingly detailed. By 1936, the Department of Education had developed a new form for use by teachers supervising

³⁸ NSAR, 1931, pp.31-2.

³⁹ NSAR, 1932, p.27. The absence of a report runs contrary to the general trend. Perhaps it reflected either the fact that the normalite actually did little, or that the teacher found the burden of reporting to be onerous.

⁴⁰ NSAR, 1932, p.27.

the work of student-teachers. Ratings of 'poor,' 'fair,' and 'good' were to be assigned *on a check list of 49 points of achievement*.⁴¹ By the late 1930's this list had been honed to forty-six points.⁴²

The thorny issue of the training of teachers for rural placements provided parallel developments in practice teaching. G. Fred McNally, Principal of the Camrose Normal School, outlined the situation.

*Of the one hundred and twenty-four students who received certificates during the year, all but five began working in the rural schools of the province. This percentage would probably hold for any year.*⁴³

Thus, the creation of an adequate rural practice teaching experience was of considerable importance. By the early 1930's the Department of Education had adopted a specific policy on the matter.

*At some time during the session, each student will be required to spend from one to two weeks in practice work in a rural school. During the first day or so the student will observe and assist the regular teacher. The student will then take charge and carry on the school as if his were the sole responsibility. The teacher in charge will make a general report on the student's work at the close of the practice period.*⁴⁴

⁴¹ Supervisor of Schools (Newland) to G.S. Lord, March 13, 1936. NSF, PAA, 78.92-1.

⁴² Practice Teaching Report Form. NSF, PAA 78.92-1. See Appendix III.

⁴³ NSAR, 1917, p.33.

⁴⁴ ANSA, 1931-32, p.9. This information is highlighted. It is also well to note that normalites on rural placements often lived with their supervising teachers. While the arrangement was occasionally determined by economics (normalites had to pay for their own expenses), there was also a more problematic consideration: in many rural locations the teacherage was the only convenient or available living quarter. Department of Education guidelines on the teacher-normalite relationship

As the Second World War erupted, a new apprenticeship system was enacted.

*All students-in-training at the Provincial Normal Schools who have been recommended for teachers' certificates will be required to serve as apprentices in rural schools during a period of three weeks, beginning Monday, June 9, 1941.... The apprentice period will afford student teachers an opportunity to become better acquainted with the duties of teachers in small schools.*⁴⁵

Under this system, the normalite served as an assistant, and was not formally graded.

By the early 1940's some definite trends in the development of practice teaching had emerged. Most visible was its expansion: normalites spent more time practice teaching. The reasons for this are less evident. Undoubtedly, it was assumed that practice teaching was a less threatening introduction to the reality of teaching, a singular situation in which normalites could get immediate feedback from experts. However, the expansion of practice teaching also operated to achieve a greater opportunity to ensure the impact of technology. And, at another, no less important level, practice teaching exposed deficiencies, via reports on the normalite which were continually refined and intrusive, thereby rendering the individual a case who

was emphatic: *No teacher is to be sent to a school in which the teacher is of the opposite sex.* One effect of the system was to extend the institutional gaze, for the normalite who both lived and worked with his or her supervising teacher would have little opportunity for privacy. And it was an institutional gaze to which normalites were subjected, for it was required that *teachers in these schools must have full qualifications*, which demanded a successful normal school experience. Of course, supervising teacher also had to complete a lengthy practice teaching report for use in the normal school [See Appendix III]. Chief Inspector of Schools to E.W. Coffin, November 22, 1938. NSF, PAA 78.92-2.

⁴⁵ ANSA, 1940-41, pp.7-8.

could be more easily compared and acted on. The almost annual commentary on practice teaching by normal school administrators revealed it to be an important component in the normal school experience. Given the constant tinkering with the system, it may also be assumed that they were not truly pleased with the results it obtained.

Normalites also found the *sine qua non* of teacher training to be a noteworthy experience. Their views are invaluable, for unlike those sentiments of teacher trainers and Department of Education officials, normalites actually endured practice teaching. Thus, the normalite perspective was unique. It incorporated an understanding of the importance of the activity. Reflecting on his (or her) year at Normal School, one normalite wrote,

*The purpose of this Year Book is to give a cross-section of our life at the Calgary Normal School. Therefore, it would not be just to publish this book without giving some space to one of the most important aspects of our training as teachers, and that is the Normal Practice School.*⁴⁶

To a considerable degree, the energy of normalites during their normal school experience was expended negotiating the structures of practice teaching.

For many normalites practice teaching had a staggering emotional impact, which left them reeling and ultimately willing to conform. Kathleen Moore, the valedictorian of the Calgary Normal School in 1936-37, put the experience in context.

Leaving high school behind us, we entered the Normal School with mingled feelings of trepidation and expectation. We were all conscious of great things to be accomplished, of new worlds to be conquered. This year's crop of teachers was going to be the best ever produced. Then came our first taste of teaching. We found that it was not easy to "put things across" to a class. We found there was an art to

⁴⁶ The author is identified as A.P.P. CgNSYB, 1936-37, p.42. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

*teaching, an art not to be acquired by mere force of personality. Gradually, our self-esteem was lowered, and we were willing to listen humbly to the teachings of our instructors.*⁴⁷

The experience was powerful enough to make at least one normalite believe he would not escape the critic's eye even after graduation. Setting the scene for a play situated in the school of a recently graduated normalite, he wrote, *After entering the room, teacher looks about for the Critic, but suddenly remembers she is no longer at the Normal School.*⁴⁸ Of course, to ensure that the teacher was ever-mindful of the eye over his or her shoulder was a prominent goal of teacher training. Even the Normal school staff recognized *the inevitable torture of practice teaching*....⁴⁹ What did the normalite perceive was this torture which permeated memories, eroded self-esteem, promoted willingness and humility, and culminated in a hesitant self-control?

...*The strain of Practice Teaching*⁵⁰ was a topic invariably commented upon by normalites. The two primary sources of normalite voice, the *Camrose Canadian*⁵¹, and the normal school yearbooks, provide illuminating glimpses into practice teaching at the various normal schools. What did

⁴⁷ CgNSYB, 1936-37, p.14. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

⁴⁸ The play is entitled *Prize Story*. ENSYB, 1929-30, p.48. NSF, PAA 84.484-3.

⁴⁹ NSAR, 1921, p.40. This comment was made by E.W. Coffin.

⁵⁰ ENSYB, 1929-30, p.9. NSF, PAA 84.484-3. This was how Alex C. McGregor, the editor of the yearbook, put it.

⁵¹ In the weekly newspaper, reports were regularly submitted by a normalite. It is suggestive that a considerable number of these reports addressed practice teaching.

they have to say?

Practice Teaching

*Practice Teaching's here again,
Two more weeks of toil and pain,
We sweat and grind, work and slave,
Until we're fit just for the grave.*

*The days go by on leaden wings,
Lesson plans are beastly things.
The first ten days are sure the worst,
Why are we burdened with such a curse?*

*Then comes respite, like a cooling breeze,
That whispers through the leafy trees,
And calms our troubled matter grey,
Next practice round is months away.⁵²*

A less literary, but equally disclosing, journey through practice teaching is provided by entries in the *Camrose Canadian* for the fall term of 1915. Teacher training was then completed in one four month term, and in that period there were six entries which foreshadowed the sentiment of the reports of most subsequent normalite correspondents.

All the students are looking forward with fear and trembling to the days to be spent in observation in the Practice School beginning next Wednesday.⁵³

Should you happen to see any normalites going about the streets the latter part of this week with happy smiles on their faces, you may safely conclude that they have taught their first lesson somewhat successfully.⁵⁴

"Practice teaching," that great terror of all Normalites past and present, has been met and - well, conquered, in most cases, and now the students consider themselves full fledged teachers.⁵⁵

Practice Teaching is in full swing and with the

⁵² CgNSYB, 1929-30, p.31. NSF, PAA 84.484-1. Unlike other poems from *The Poet's Page*, this one did not indicate the author.

⁵³ CC, October 7, 1915.

⁵⁴ CC, October 21, 1915.

⁵⁵ CC, October 28, 1915.

exception of a few minor cases of collapse all are wearing countenances betraying a calmness and serenity of mind which show how successfully all are treading the maze of intricate paths that lead to perfection in pedagogy.⁵⁶

We are pleased to announce that a general promotion of the students from being mere victims of practice teaching to the position of critics has taken place.⁵⁷

Watch and see how the Normalites celebrate the finishing of practice teaching. Pent up enjoyment has at last been given its liberty.⁵⁸

The pattern of these themes continually emerge in normalite voices. For them, practice teaching was primarily a stressful experience, characterized first by mounting anxiety, followed closely by disorienting confusion, and concluded by a crescendo of relief. Although, occasionally, normalites would reflect on the value of practice teaching, such consideration was rare and usually not the immediate result of the exercise of the technology. Normalites were aware of a much more intensely personal impact which left them dependent on normal instructors, practice teachers, critic teachers and the knowledges they promoted, for respite.

Practice teaching was a black cloud looming over the horizon of every normalite's teacher training experience. Its visibility shook them.

*That inevitable terror of the Normal student's existence, Practice Teaching has approached with relentless dread, and, as an immediate result, kind-hearted friends have extended their solicitude to weeping damsels and pale-faced youths with the expressed hope that all is not as bad as it may appear to be.*⁵⁹

⁵⁶ CC, November 11, 1915.

⁵⁷ CC, November 18, 1915.

⁵⁸ CC, December 2, 1915. As van Gennep noted, such liberties as these are often granted to those undergoing the rites of passage.

⁵⁹ CC, November 22, 1917.

*The faces of the tots are noticeably drawn with expressions of utter despair and resignation to their fate. The days of practice teaching begin on Monday next.*⁶⁰

In the face of this terror, even traditional emotional outlets were of little value. Normalites were advised that *Humour Would Be Unbecoming*.⁶¹ As one normalite remembered, *Now practice-teaching came, and it Was tedious and long. It told with its painstaking care That gaiety was wrong.*⁶²

With trepidation, most normalites simply awaited and endured his or her fate.

Normalite reaction to the experience of practice teaching suggests that the activity primarily engendered responses of fear, exhaustion and confusion, reactions which generally culminated in dependency.

*During the week the students of the Normal school have been learning by bitter experience what the poet meant when he said, "The melancholy days are come, the saddest of the year." The practice teaching began Monday morning and the prospective teachers have been suffering tortures of anxiety daily while waiting for their criticisms.*⁶³

*Practice teaching is on now and we are all worried to death. We all suffer from shortage of time but certainly not from shortage of assignments. Charts, maps and art assignments are heaped up higher every day. Show us the student that has spare time and we'll show you one that doesn't intend working anyway.*⁶⁴

During these practice teaching rounds, Camrose, at least,

⁶⁰ CC, February 22, 1917.

⁶¹ CC, November 23, 1932.

⁶² This is from a long poem, *The Rural School Teacher* by M.C. CgNSYB 1930-31, p.77. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

⁶³ CC, November 8, 1917.

⁶⁴ CC, November 29, 1928.

was populated by solemn-faced pedagogues-to-be.⁶⁵

Normalite Irene Westvick gave personal testimony to her teacher training experiences. Her story is important enough to be given in full.

On Practice Teaching

Of all the thrilling experiences Normal school offers us, practice-teaching is surely the most adventurous. Psychology and music are paradise compared to it, while bug hunting, like literature, becomes pure enjoyment. But for some unavoidable reason, practice-teaching makes one nervous, timid, and frightened.

I am called upon to teach a grammar lesson in grade six. Unconsciously, I stumble up the aisle, and, fortunately, find support against the teacher's desk. I feel faint, I tremble, I become speechless. No sooner do I secure my bearings than Mr. Manning [of the normal school staff] walks into the room. Worse than this, thirty small individuals stare wide-eyed at me. I grope around for the chalk, and at the same time mumble a few incoherent words which seem to come floating back to me on the air.

Then, "Please, but you've written 'we was' instead of 'we were'." A bright student, no doubt, who will go far in the world; but into what humiliation he has plunged me. From the depths of my disgrace I come up for air, and gasping as pleasantly as I can, "I was wondering how soon you would notice the mistake."

Then I see a hand waving madly. "Well, what is it?"

"Please, miss, why can't an adjective modify a verb?"

I feel myself going down for the third time, and catch myself hoping that a few bubbles, at least, may mark the spot. Why can't an adjective modify a verb? Adjectives should modify verbs. Adjectives should modify prepositions. A'j'tives sh'd mod'fy a'jtivs. Ajtives shld moffy....⁶⁶

Westvick's personal view grants a singular perspective on practice teaching. Her distress, her fear and confusion,

⁶⁵ CC, November 30, 1932.

⁶⁶ CmNSYB, 1931-32, p.27. NSF, PAA 84.484-2. A similar story appeared in the CgNSYB for 1930-31. It began *Of all the gratifications of this year's entertainment, practice teaching stands highest (or lowest). Music classes are heaven compared with it, Physical Training is soothing, and Psychology becomes a dream within the pale of that hovering nightmare.* See p.23. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

unavoidably emanating from the activity (as she puts it), are prominent. In his drawings, Larue Harney provided an equally revealing, and not dissimilar, peek into the impact of practice teaching [see Cartoon 1].⁶⁷



Practice in Teaching?

CARTOON 1

Occasionally, and interestingly, military terminology was used to describe the practice teaching experience. This was well expressed in the *Camrose Canadian*, when it was noted that *Class B* went "over the top" last week and took another shot at practice teaching.⁶⁸ Another correspondent reported that *The casualty lists are light, two students only having apparently succumbed to the practice teaching....*⁶⁹ Normalite Claire Richardson, IID, waxed, *It's science, art and literature the courses of Studies saith; The Normal Student makes reply, "It's P.T. to the death."*⁷⁰

⁶⁷ CmNSYB, 1929-30, p.67. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

⁶⁸ CC, February 9, 1938.

⁶⁹ CC, November 15, 1917.

⁷⁰ CmNSYB, 1929-30, p.35. NSF, PAA 84.484-2. "P.T." arguably refers to practice teaching, which, from Richardson's perspective, evidently came to dominate all

Such language, and the mood it revealed, were not inappropriate. Practice teaching was an intimate attack on the individual: it sought to render the normalite vulnerable and weak, and in this it often succeeded.

The Critic

The component of practice teaching known as the criticism was much commented upon by normalites. Descriptions of despair suggest that it was a powerful micro-technology in the exercise of dispersion. According to the *Normal Dictionary*, the criticism was written in *black pencil on yellow paper; makes student see red and feel blue*. The artist of this rainbow was the critic, a *stern looking individual who does his best to mesmerize you during your lesson*. A lesson, interestingly, was a *half hour's amusement for a critic*.⁷¹ As is evident in the drawing by R. Kalbfleisch, the relationship between the normalite and the critic was a recognized one of subservience [see Cartoon 2].⁷²

Deference was often accompanied by anguish.

To A Lesson Plan

*O, dream of hope! O, father of despair!
You hold me in your clutches, O! that I
Could wiser be, and know how to apply
Thought provoking questions. Oh! I can but glare,
At this poor presentation. How can I bear
To face my critic and admit that my
Faint aim and application, were by
This hand committed - An ill-be-gotten pair:
A ray of hope appears amid the gathering mist -
Critics are sometimes kind, mayhap
This one will kindest be, and give me C.
Next year, then I shall work and get the gist*

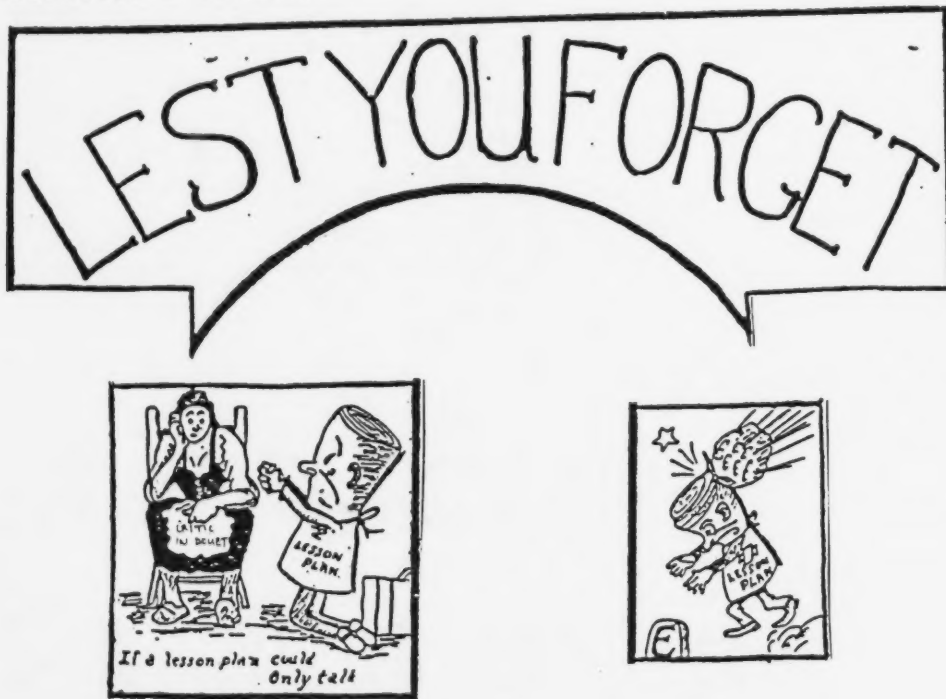
other academic considerations.

⁷¹ CmNSYB, 1929-30, pp.42-3. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

⁷² CmNSYB, 1931-32, p.50. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

*Of this year's work. Meanwhile I can but tap
My scanty knowledge - but it is wee!*⁷³

Despair and doubt; lowered and tempered hope; existence in an environment where absurdity apparently reigned, for practice teaching, and the grading of it, simply did not make sense. It should not be surprising that in negotiating practice teaching normalites often followed their instructor's advice.



CARTOON 2

⁷³ By Claire Richardson, Class II D. CmNSYB, 1929-30, p.35. NSF, PAA 84.484-2. I could find no clear explanation of the normal school grading system. It appears to have incorporated letters (from A through F), numbers, and comments. While a pass in the academic courses required 50%, a pass in practice teaching demanded 65%. And, as the anecdote of Reg Turner (in the following paragraph), and the "Report of Rural Observation and Practice" (Appendix III) indicate, evaluations also came in the form of comments. The connections between the three evaluatory methods could not be found.

In his ode to a normalite, A. Gordon wrote, *If in Practice School you've taught And criticism's all you've got....*⁷⁴ Gordon would have found a sympathetic ear in normalite Reg Turner. In a short story in which he describes the various instructors at the Calgary Normal school, Turner wrote

*This is he, Mr. Scott, the Geography Instructor. He also looks after the Practice teaching and that's where the students fall out with him occasionally. By occasionally, I mean the times when they have to get up at six-thirty, travel about seven miles into the country and return with a 'Fairly Good' criticism.*⁷⁵

Orest Zarasky, first term Student Council President at the Edmonton Normal School, believed criticism to be an important enough topic to address in his message. ...we also have our problems.... How often do we experience a sinking feeling when some instructor drops "like a bolt from the blue" to criticize a rather difficult lesson?⁷⁶ The anticipation of sharp criticism, and its deflating impact, undoubtedly promoted a willingness in the normalite to adhere to the suggestions of the critic.

Ultimately, the problems of practice teaching appeared to give way to the relief of having survived the ordeal. In a short entry entitled *The Bugbear*, the correspondent to the *Camrose Canadian* wrote,

What is it? Anyone entering the Normal school can detect it and anyone who has anything to do with Normal school can understand it. All the students are smiling, and their faces so recently flushed with excitement are calm,

⁷⁴ These are two lines from a long poem entitled *A Normalite*. CgNSYB, 1930-31, p.37. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

⁷⁵ The story is entitled *Ghosts at Normal*. CgNSYB 1930-31, p.60. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

⁷⁶ ENSYB, 1936-37, p.27. NSF, PAA 72.298-2.

*composed and tranquil. The reason is obvious - Practice teaching closes this week.*⁷⁷

The reaction had little changed twenty years later when the correspondent noted that *Class "A" students heaved a sigh of relief Thursday as they left the Practice school, and heaved a still greater one when they received criticisms on Friday.*⁷⁸ Class "A" exhaled a further sigh of relief in April when they completed their last round of Practice teaching.⁷⁹

It is apparent that for most normalites practice teaching was a traumatic experience. It filled them with fear and self-doubt. The normalite was alone in alien circumstances often beyond comprehension; uncertainty was of the essence of the technology. They were in a position that demanded acquiescence. The resultant anxiety undoubtedly created in many normalites a desire to please their critics. Thus, it was effective in reproducing teaching techniques. However, its success was rooted in the erosion of any non-institutional initiative, a will which might challenge the knowledge and authority privileged by such techniques. Reflecting back on the stages of practice teaching some normalites were indeed supportive of the process.⁸⁰ Such support arguably suggests the success of the technology.

⁷⁷ CC, March 29, 1917.

⁷⁸ CC, December 1, 1937.

⁷⁹ CC, April 6, 1938.

⁸⁰ See, for example, the comments of Marion Robb. CgNSYB, 1930-31, pp.78-9. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

EXAMINATIONS

The normalite who managed to successfully negotiate student teaching was soon confronted by a further technology of dispersion: the examination.⁸¹ As the *Camrose Canadian* informed its readers, perhaps as a warning to beware of strangely acting normalites, *Practice teaching ended last week. Examinations will be written on Monday and Tuesday.*⁸² This was a potent combination. Spinning from their practice teaching experience, normalites were staggered by the final examination, a technology equally threatening. Above all, for the normalite, examinations were a source of anguish: the attentive ear was aware of *express[ions of] anxiety over the approaching final examinations*⁸³, and could hear the ominous roar of the fast approaching final examinations. Normalites, they were advised, *beware of the oncoming storm.*⁸⁴

Examinations bracketed the normal school experience. Prospective normalites had to pass certain tests to enter the program, just as they had to pass other exams to be granted a teaching certificate. The time sandwiched between these examinations was short (and also characterized by evaluation), particularly when the teacher training course was only four months.

"Tempus Fugit," sage of old has said and verily truer words

⁸¹ The concern here is primarily the final examination, the ultimate evaluative technology. As deconstructive reconstruction seeks to understand the process of identity reconstruction, my interest in the examination is how it aided that process, rather than the specific contents (the 'what') the examination forced one to learn.

⁸² CC, December 15, 1937.

⁸³ CC, April 28, 1937.

⁸⁴ CC, November 25, 1915.

*have never been spoken. This flight of time was very startlingly brought home to the students last week, when some of the teachers announced that they had made up the examination papers. Great forebodings of woe have been expressed as to the probable outcome of the exams, but there is small doubt that privately the students feel confident of the results.*⁸⁵

If the normalites of this class were confident, as this correspondent speculated, then this group was an unusual one. When normalites revealed their feelings on examinations it was rarely in terms of confidence, but rather in those of fear and apprehension. In *Examinations* an anonymous poet well captured the emotion.

*What makes your face grow pale and thin,
And makes you lose your double chin?
What causes level heads to spin?
Creates in tranquil minds a din?
Examinations!*

*What gives your brows those lines of care?
What brings those grey threads in your hair?
What makes your spirit say "Beware!"
Your knees to shake, your eyes to share?
Examinations!*

*What makes you study all the night,
And burns the landlord's precious light,
Until next day you look a sight,
And cannot tell your left from right?
Examinations!*

*Oh, woe is me! I long to see
This pleasant land where there will be
A time where everyone is free
From those things that worry me -
Examinations!*⁸⁶

These torments were so powerful, so real, so obsessive, that they plagued even sleeping hours. Blanch Tate, class IID, in a short story called *Dreams*, wrote of Freud,

⁸⁵ CC, November 29, 1917.

⁸⁶ ENSYB, 1929-30, p.43. NSF, PAA 84.484-3.

finals, and fears.

According to Freud every dream is the outcome of a repressed "wish." If this were true I wonder how many times we of the C.N.S. would dream that homework is abolished! Since I have never dreamt it was, that is one reason why I do not agree with Freud. On the other hand I have often dreamt things which I do not consider the outcome of repressed wishes. For example, after writing an examination, it would hardly be a repressed wish to dream that I had failed; or worse still the night after Christmas dinner at home, to dream that Mr. McGregor [instructor] is chasing me all over the map of South America, or that I have to attend special grammar classes for the rest of my life. And surely it is not a repressed wish that makes me dream that I step in to see one of the practice-teachers who hands out a criticism marked "E," with a look which says, "You really don't deserve it but its the worst I can do for you."⁸⁷

The impact of examinations, operating at intimate levels, was profoundly intense.

The lexicographer of the Normal Dictionary defined the 'Writing Test' as *Three minutes of intense suffering with the final result never in doubt.*⁸⁸ For some, this certainty promoted unhealthy physical effects, as is evident in a chart by an unidentified normalite [see Chart 1].⁸⁹

TOPIC CHART				
1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Periods	Music	PTIS	Maps	Foreign Affairs
BEFORE	Public Health	Charts	Sunshine	ORMAL ECHO
XMAS	Individual	Singing	Trail	Programs
	White	Reforms	Club	Dancing
	Wants on			
BEACH	RED CROSS	Individual	Tests	Year Book
RESULTS	MEETINGS	Individual	Tests	BETTER
AFTER	Board	Individual	Tests	PROGRAMS
XMAS	Writing	Individual	Tests	TARLTON'S
				BUDGET
AFTER				
EASTER		DELIVERANCE	(WE HOPE)	

CHART 1

⁸⁷ The story continues on for another paragraph. CmNSYB, 1929-30, pp.34-5. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

⁸⁸ CmNSYB, 1929-30, p.43. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

⁸⁹ CmNSYB, 1929-30, p.44. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

For others, the examination was simply baffling, something unfathomable, which was better endured than rationalized. Perhaps this bewilderment was the reaction normal instructors sought to engender, for a resigned state of mind promoted a certain subservience. F. Crone, IA, wrote of *The Nightmare*, and concluded,

On reaching the front door George [a normalite] beheld Mr. Wees [an instructor] gnashing his teeth in violent rage against Stella Johnston and Gladys Jameson, who held the door. Uniting his puny strength with that of the instructor he forced an entrance, to come face to face with a bulletin board bearing the notice - "Due to an unforeseen change of the moon the staff has decided to impose a series of rigid final examinations to commence in seven minutes." I swooned dead away, and awoke to Mr. McGregor's [an instructor] familiar "Shutters please!"⁹⁰

Normalite Reg Turner wrote of his experiences with one normal instructor, Mr. McKerricher. ...*I used to like him, he revealed, until he subtracted the wrongs from the rights in our tests. That caused me to score less than zero, he lamented, and I had never thought it possible to get so low as that.*⁹¹ Normalite confusion rode of the waves of these apparently senseless normal school practices.

A report in the *Camrose Canadian* suggests that normalite resentment was rather a common sentiment.

*Excitement, relief and sorrow have been rampant on the Normal Hill this week - excitement regarding examinations; relief when they were written, and in some subjects a certain amount of sorrow at results.*⁹²

⁹⁰ CmNSYB, 1929-30, p.33. NSF, PAA 84.484-2. It appears as if Crone had been sleeping during a presentation given by McGregor. In a darkened room, with the gaze less potent, there was some limited escape, though even in sleep normalites were apparently fixed on their normal school experience.

⁹¹ CgNSYB, 1930-31, p.60. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

⁹² CC, November 25, 1936.

As normalite A. Gordon waxed, if
You memorized poem after poem
But in exams left your memory home....
If you have thought you knew the noun
But those tests surely set you down...
*You've been to Normal School, my lad.*⁹³

Surely, the Examination Blues accurately reflected the feelings of normalites other than just the poet.

Examination week has come -
I tremble at the thought
Of all the things I tried to learn
And all that I forgot.

Armed pencil, paint and ruler.
I first attack the Art,
And wonder if disease germs lurk,
Waiting to do their part.

I concentrate on compound verbs,
Study music by the foot,
And ask to what commercial use
Quebracho is now put.

I struggle with my History,
Lacombe and Louis Riel,
Psychology and School Management,
And endless words to spell.

"There goes the bell," I gasp; in gloom
I shiver in my shoes -
The fatal hour has come. I have
*Examination Blues!*⁹⁴

It is rather appropriate that the writer is anonymous, its poet merely a normalite.

Assignments

A micro-technology of the examination was the assignment. Less commanding than the examination, the

⁹³ From A Normalite. CgNSYB, 1930-31, p.37. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

⁹⁴ ENSYB, 1929-30, p.34. NSF, PAA 84.484-3.

assignment was none-the-less quite effective. While, from the instructor's perspective, assignments were (at least) exercises in knowledge and communication, the normalite point of view was often different. As is evident from one of *The Ten Commandments for the Normal Class Room* for the Calgary Normal School, assignments operated to wear normalites down. The third commandment stated that *Thou shalt keep in mind thy assignments. All week thou mayest dream and talk to thy neighbors but at the week-end thou must sweat and toil and burn the midnight oil.*⁹⁵ Erosion of confidence accompanied physical fatigue. The *Camrose Normal Dictionary* defined the assignment as *A small piece of paper which results in C-sickness.* The essay was defined as a *Device invented to keep normalites from enjoying life.*⁹⁶ From the normalite point of view, the importance of assignments was less the academic ability, and knowledge mastery it demonstrated, than its intimate physical and emotional impact.

In the *Ballad of Assignments*, Agnes Janz expressed her distress over what was evidently an abhorrent routine.

*From innocent pleasures and riotous play
We join in the ditty and sing in the lay.
Do your assignments as quick as you can,
It's simple, quite simple, and easy to plan;
An assignment per day, an assignment per week,
An assignment exceedingly clever,
An assignment today, an assignment next week,
For ever - and ever - and ever.*

*History, Geography, Grammar and Art,
Arithmetic, Writing (oh say, have a heart!)
School Management, Literature, Compo', P.T.,
Psychology, Music - a regular spree!
Poetry, magazines, books by the shelf,
Nice easy assignments - be good to yourself.*

⁹⁵ CgNSYB, 1929-30, p.32. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

⁹⁶ CmNSYB, 1929-30, p.42. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

An assignment per day and an assignment per week -
 Reviving the time-honoured hide-and-go-seek,
 With surly instructors, who grumble and peek -
 And think of praising you never;
 But weary you on through the turbulent day,
 And in dreams in the night when you rest from the fray,
 It's an assignment per week, an assignment per day,
 For ever - and ever - and ever.⁹⁷

Virtually inescapable, assignments were apparently the norm for every subject. Regardless of one's effort, it appeared inadequate. And for Janz, at least, the impact of the assignment transcended the school hours, chasing into her dreams at night. Janz, however, was not alone; these sentiments were shared by other normalites. Normalite Larue Harney expressed similar feelings in his cartoons [see Cartoon 3].⁹⁸



Assignments

CARTOON 3



CARTOON 3a

Assignments were exhausting, and possessed with apparently foregone results. Whether it was 'C-sickness,' the absence of praise, or the 'Rubbish Grounds,' the impact of the

⁹⁷ CgNSYB, 1930-31, p.5. NSF, PAA 84.484-1. Note the comment *time-honoured hide-and-go-seek*. Evidently assignments were not merely endured. This is a matter for the critique of institutional power.

⁹⁸ CmNSYB, 1929-30, p.67. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

assignment on normalites was widespread and singular: it heightened their despair.

In her valedictory address, Beth Stevenson well captured the essence of the tactic of dispersion. She wrote

"Into the Valley of Death

Rode more than three hundred"-

So thought the instructors on September 3, 1929. We came; they saw; and they conquered. Their work has been hard, but we hope not in vain. From September to June they have squashed, pummelled, and moulded crude material into teaching puppets, to be tossed hither and thither by inspectors and school boards. Each one arrived with the lofty ideals of going forth to revolutionize the teaching world - but, our ambition now reaches no higher than an ordinary school with ordinary pupils, where we can put into practice the solid fundamentals of progressive teaching.⁹⁹

The technologies which this study has examined demonstrate the squashing, pummelling and moulding. The building inspired awe, practice teaching wrought insecurity, and examinations fed anxiety. Dispersion utilized these emotions in an attempt to ensure that the normalite would be willing to act to master institutional norms, to harmonize with the promoted teacher inventory. Confused, and with future economic security at stake, many normalites could easily convince themselves that such harmonization was necessary, or, at least, advantageous. Once this frame of mind was established, the tactic of investiture functioned to ensure that mastery rapidly became a desire, a want as much as a need.

⁹⁹ CgNSYB, 1929-30, p.3. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

CHAPTER 7
THE TACTIC OF INVESTITURE

INVESTITURE

*We who are approaching the end of our lease look
almost with envy on you who are about to enter upon
citizenship in the Kingdom of the Spirit.*

E.W. Coffin,
Principal, Calgary Normal School¹

Investiture is the tactic of deconstructive reconstruction which seeks to draw the inmate's inventory closer to that which is promoted within the institution. Emotionally and physically distressed by the operation of exposure and dispersion, the inmate is often more willing to accept both the means and end of identity reconstruction. The technologies of investiture reveal both how this desire is created, and, to a lesser extent, the identity of the inmate at the culmination of his or her institutional experience. For the purposes of exploring investiture, the technologies of awards, unity, and modelling have been chosen.

The awards structure in the normal school was indivisible from the institution itself. The effective exercise of power sought to ensure that the ideal normal school experience was one of regular and constant evaluation for which awards were offered when appropriate. The technology of unity promoted bonding between normalites. Such links were profoundly motivating forces to particular actions. Perhaps the most effective way of demonstrating institutional norms was to have them personified in normal staff and administration. An

¹ CgNSYB, 1932-33, p.7. NSF, PAA 84.484-1. See Appendix I for a listing of normal school principals.

examination of their actions and attitudes, and the normalites' understanding of/reaction to such behaviours comprises the analysis of the final tactic, modelling.

AWARDS

Awards were an inescapable reality in the normal school experience; the technology permeated virtually every facet of institutional life. Awards ranged from the what the normalite perceived to be the *sine qua non* of normal school, the teaching certificate, to less financially compensatory, but perhaps more laudatory (and undoubtedly of more immediate gratification) manifestations such as being singled out in a newspaper or a yearbook. Regardless of the form taken, all awards were powerful stimulants to normalite action, and often functioned to create drives of desire to master institutional norms.

The Teaching Certificate

The normalites' voices do not often speak of the teaching certificate. Certainly it was not the popular subject it was with normal administration. But, on those occasions when it was the topic of normalite commentary, it is evident that the prospective teachers clearly recognized its importance. As E. Payne, class IA, wrote in *A Sonnet*

*Farewell to thee, thou Normal!
 We soon your shadows leave,
 With what joy and thanksgiving,
 You hardly would believe.
 Full long and hard we've laboured,
 Shed many bitter tears,
 In hopes of a certificate,
 To use in future years.*

*We've delved into Psychology,
 And worried over art,
 And many more such frightful things,
 In our lives have had a part.*

*Alas, the year is past and gone,
But we teachers will live on!
We hope!*²

For Payne, if a certificate awaited, distasteful affairs could be endured. Utilizing a less literary approach, Orest Zarsky, Edmonton Student Union President, cut directly to the heart of the matter, divulging that *The majority of us [normalites] have come here to get a vocational training which will have some mercenary value.*³ Though generally unspoken, the teaching certificate, which crowned the normal school experience, and the economic security it offered, were the greatest incentives for the normalite to conform to the imperatives of the institution.

Department of Education officials, including normal administrators, appear to have devoted considerable effort to enhancing the desirability of the certificate. A normalite could be granted one of various classes of interim certificates, first through third, or a letter of authority (also known as a permit).⁴ Normalites would be enrolled in either first or second class courses, which generally reflected their secondary training. However, the certificate one received depended substantially on one's performance in normal school, or in the case of a permit, on the need for teachers.

There were essentially two components to the teacher training course: practice teaching, and professional courses. In the early years of the operation of the normal schools, the class of one's interim certificate was based

² CgNSYB, 1929-30, p.64. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

³ ENSYB, 1936-37, p.27. NSF, PAA 72.298-2.

⁴ In 1921, the Academic Certificate was introduced, though, with a university degree as a prerequisite, it was beyond the reach of most normalites. NSAR, 1921, p.46.

primarily on practice teaching results. If one failed in practice teaching, he or she received a third class interim certificate regardless of the other professional courses taken.⁵ Failure in practice teaching meant that the normalite had to re-enter normal school in the next academic year, and rewrite all final tests and examinations, in addition to passing practice teaching. No permanent certificate would be granted until the normalite was successful.⁶ This was undoubtedly a powerful incentive to master practice teaching the first go round. However, this procedure must have been considered excessively harsh, for, by 1934, normalites who failed practice teaching could *spend a stated time in an approved rural school, and upon a satisfactory report from an inspector, may be granted standing.*⁷

If a normalite failed a professional academic course, he or she would be granted an interim certificate, on the condition that he or she return to rewrite the examination at a future date.⁸ By the 1930's this regulation had become lax. As late as 1934, the Supervisor of Schools explained that

*Our practice has been, in the case of students who had completed all their requirements for the First Class Certificate except one subject, not to demand a return to summer school for a second session, but to provide some other means whereby they might qualify....*⁹

⁵ NSAR, 1912, p.40; 1915, p.27; and 1918, p.23.

⁶ NSAR, 1916, p.26; 1918, p.31; and 1928, p.31.

⁷ NSAR, 1934, p.27.

⁸ NSAR, 1922, p.46.

⁹ Supervisor of Schools to D.A. McKerricher, October 10, 1934. NSF, PAA. 78.92-2. Such private exceptions to public rules may well be considered a crack in institutional power, and are explored in the next chapter.

However, if one failed enough courses, the third class interim certificate became a factor. G.K. Haverstock, Principal of the Camrose Normal School, noted in 1931 that *Third Class certificates are granted to students who fail in either the practical work or five subjects of the academic work.*¹⁰ Third class certificates were apparently not granted after 1936. By then, normalites who failed the professional subjects were required to attend Summer School conducted by the Department of Education.¹¹ In 1938, the policy reached its most rigid form, and was lucidly stated: *No teacher's certificate will be issued to such students until they have made good their deficiency in credits.*¹²

Slack and shifting certification regulations in the years before the later 1930's made it obvious that a certificate was, in and of itself, inadequate as an incentive to create the desire necessary for identity reconstruction. The system allowed failed normalites to teach. The motivation had to be strengthened.

In the early 1920's, presumably in an effort to sharpen normalite desire, a new micro-technology of awards was grafted onto the teaching certificate: the Honor Standings was introduced. E.W. Coffin, Principal of the Calgary Normal School wrote,

...there was (for the first time) Honor Standing given in the final recommendations for Interim Certificates. Our basis for this was an average of 60 in class work; of not less than 70 in class work and practice teaching combined; failure in no subject; and no unfavorable report of any

¹⁰ NSAR, 1931, p.28.

¹¹ NSAR, 1938, p.19. Students could attend Summer School at either Edmonton and Calgary.

¹² NSAR, 1938, p.21.

*kind. The following candidates were so recommended....*¹³

By 1925, achieving Honour Standing had become an even greater challenge. It was defined as *over 75% on Practice Teaching and in every subject....*¹⁴ The honours system remained part of the normal school rewards structure until at least the late 1930's. In 1934 E.W. Coffin revealed that *The conditions under which honour standing is granted in this school have been modified during the year. The conditions are stringent. They require excellent standing in both the professional subjects and in practice teaching. The following students were given honour standing...*¹⁵

The elite of the Edmonton Normal School were identified by something more tangible than recognition in the annual Normal School Report, or on one's certificate. Those who most satisfactorily assimilated institutional norms (not necessarily those who achieved a minimum grade percentage) received a gold button. *The staff prizes of gold buttons to the 5% of the enrolment ranking highest in general proficiency in subject matter and in practice teaching were awarded to....*¹⁶ If one failed to win a

¹³ Eighteen are named as 'First Class' and nineteen as 'Second Class.' There were 391 normalites in attendance at the Calgary Normal School that year. NSAR, 1923, pp.41, 38. Note also the importance of practice teaching; one's grade in that subject had to be quite high to ensure a 70% average, especially if the average of the other courses was closer to 60%.

¹⁴ This definition is given by A.E. Torrie, Principal of the Camrose Normal School. Only one student received Honours, Marion MacLeod, a member of the Second Class. There were 244 normalites in attendance. NSAR, 1925, p.48.

¹⁵ Five normalites (and their home-towns) were named, out of a student population of 317. Honour standing was becoming increasingly difficult to attain. NSAR, 1934, pp.26-7.

¹⁶ Nine normalites, of a total population of 153, were identified. NSAR, 1937, p.41. See also NSAR, 1940, p.38,

button, other awards were still available, and undoubtedly acted as a powerful magnet. *The following students received honourable mention for high scholarship...and for high standing in Practice Teaching....*¹⁷.

Letters of commendation were also awarded to successful normalites. G.S. Lord, Principal of the Edmonton Normal School, outlined the policy.

*It is the custom of the school to award letters of commendation to students who on the professional subjects of the Christmas examinations have made 75 on four or more subjects, failed in no subject, and averaged 70 on all subjects. Thirty-one letters of this type were issued. This year we have introduced a Letter of Commendation "With Distinction," awarded to students who have made 75 on five or more subjects, failed in no subject, and averaged 75. This letter was awarded to fourteen students.*¹⁸

This strategy efficiently spaced the granting of awards to ensure a regular and pronounced effect. The Deputy Minister of Education was an enthusiastic supporter of this development. *...in my opinion, he commented, the practice which you have adopted is an excellent one eminently calculated to encourage the students to keep up their record of good work for the balance of the year.*¹⁹ By 1935, the two categories were renamed, although the criteria remained the same. The elite students, those who best conformed, received Letters of "Special Commendation," while the second tier of the top students, whose mastery

when seventeen normalites, of a total population of 321, were named.

¹⁷ Of a total population of 153, five students were identified, three for high scholarship and two for practice teaching. NSAR, 1937, p.41.

¹⁸ There were 225 normalites enrolled in this year. NSAR, 1932, pp.33, 30.

¹⁹ G.F. McNally to G.S. Lord, January 21, 1936. NSF, PAA 78.92-1.

was less superior, received "Letters of Commendation."²⁰

Cups, Pins, Attire, and Scholarships

Beyond the primary award of the interim certificate, and the perks (commendations, buttons) associated with it, numerous other awards were within the grasp of normalites who demonstrated excellence in their ability to absorb institutional norms. There were various cup competitions, reflecting superiority in sporting and academic challenges, individual and group accomplishments. Prizes, including scholarships, pins, sweaters, and less significant certificates were also available to be won. Interestingly, many of these awards did not materialize until the late 1920's and 1930's. The emergence of these new micro-technologies lend credence to the suggestion that increasingly the certificate was an inadequate award in ensuring that normalites appropriately conformed to institutional values.²¹ In addition to these awards, there were still other forms of recognition. For example, fitting achievements were duly noted in newspapers and yearbooks.

Victorious normalites drank from a variety of cups at the normal schools. Some cups served as awards for sporting

²⁰ Statement entitled "Provincial Normal School Edmonton. Christmas Examination 1935." Fourteen normalites are named as receiving 'Letters of Special Commendation,' while sixteen are listed as receiving 'Letters of Commendation.' N.D. 78.92-1, NSF, PAA. Lord suggests that this number was *unusually high*. NSAR, 1935, p.36. The total number of normalites who wrote the examinations are not given, though 183 are listed in attendance at the normal school for this year.

²¹ The question of the reason for this inadequacy emerges. Did demand for teachers render the certificate meaningless? Did normalites see themselves as teachers for only a short time, and therefore reject the processes they were undergoing? Was it simply a form of normalite resistance?

achievements. At the Camrose Normal School, normalites were introduced to this micro-technology at the beginning of their normal school experience. The First Party was a reminiscence in the yearbook.

*A beautiful granite drinking cup was awarded to the leader of the prize-winning team; the cup reposes in beseeming dignity in the show-case of the library; or so it should. Prizes of all-day suckers to the individual members of the team were disposed of quickly, only to be long remembered, and with many thanks to the staff, for their pains.*²²

Similarly, silver cups were presented at field day.²³ H.U. Johnstone, of Johnstone's Drug & Book Store, has donated a cup to the boys' indoor basketball league, which is to be fought for annually.²⁴ The Bertles Cup was also a house league sporting trophy at the Camrose Normal School.²⁵ As the correspondent to the *Camrose Canadian* indicated, victory in the inter-class league was a way to transcend academic weakness, albeit fleetingly: *the winners are "first-class" players all around.*²⁶ Similar trophies existed at the Calgary Normal School. A girls' house league was organized consisting of twenty-one teams, which *thus afforded an opportunity for practically every lady in the school to play.... At the finish...the winning team is to be presented with a cup donated through the courtesy of Henry Birks & Sons, jewellers.*²⁷

²² CmNSYB, 1931-32, p.37. NSF, PAA 84.484-2. Was it taken, and, if so, what might be the meaning of the act?

²³ CC, August 30, 1923.

²⁴ CC, November 1, 1928.

²⁵ The Bertles Cup was for the girls' indoor league. CC December 13, 1928; January 1, 1937; and November 17, 1937.

²⁶ CC, November 9, 1932.

²⁷ The winner of the boys' league, Class IIA (each member identified), was presented with a cup donated by

Interestingly, normal administration did not comment on these internal sporting achievements/awards. Perhaps they were recognized as necessary, but rather odious forms of motivation.

Cups were also presented for other nonacademic achievements. Significantly, these cups were given for class, and not individual, distinctions.²⁸ Like the sporting activities, these were meant to be participatory and bonding activities. The most prominent of this type of award was given for the class Literary Competitions.

*As a stimulus to better programmes in the regular weekly Literary meetings, the staff presented a cup for competition by classes. The improvement in both selection of items and in finish is very evident.*²⁹

At the Calgary Normal School, the genesis of the first term literary programs were described thus:

*At the beginning of the first term
Dr. Coffin, mighty chieftain,
Spoke to us with voice majestic,
Warning, chiding, spoke in this wise:
Oh! My children! My poor children!
Listen to the words of wisdom.
Every Friday you shall gather
In this spacious hall of learning
Here to receive inspiration
From your brother and sisters
In the art of entertaining.*

Hence the origin of the Friday afternoon programs in the Calgary Normal School. Very necessary that we should

Alex Martin Sporting Goods company. CgNSYB, 1929-30, pp.20, 22. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

²⁸ Even in those competitions where the goal was cooperation, shining individual merit was recognized, for *Out of all the programs it is sometimes customary to mention some of the individual talent which stands out.* CgNSYB, 1929-30, p.14. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

²⁹ NSAR, 1932, p.32.

receive training in this when we realize that no rural school is complete without its Friday afternoon of songs and recitations by the children - promoted by the teacher.

Among the most notable of this year's programs were those of IIC, IIA, and IA. IIC presented an Indian program which in its originality, organization and educational value was judged highest and won the cup.

...competition was keen and the greatest trouble of the judging committee was that there weren't nearly enough cups to award.³⁰

Of course, if there were enough cups, the efficacy of this micro-technology would be decreased.

Similar programs existed at the Edmonton and Camrose Normal Schools. At Edmonton the literary event consisted of a series of programmes, one by each class, in competition for the Programme Cup to be awarded to the class presenting the best programme for the term.³¹ In late 1936, at the Camrose Normal School, it was reported that A series of class programs in competition for the cup begin on Nov. 27. Enthusiasm is keen.³² Some months later it was reported that Class "B" was presented by Mr. Swift with a cup for having presented the best class program during the first term. Heartiest congratulations to the boys!³³

The final category of cups was for scholastic achievement. Documents indicate that such honours were available only at Camrose. G.K. Haverstock details the award.

The class of 1929-30 donated a very beautiful cup, to be known as the Academic Cup. This cup is for annual competition and is to be awarded to the student making the highest record throughout the year. The cup was awarded to

³⁰ CgNSYB, 1929-30, p.14. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

³¹ ENSYB, 1937-38, p.42. Private Collection.

³² CC, November 25, 1936.

³³ CC, February 24, 1937.

*George Henry Lambert for the year 1929-30.*³⁴

The winner was subsequently defined as *the best all-round student of the school*.³⁵ From the perspective of the normal school administration, it was evidently an important award, for the winner was recognized by the principal in his annual report, unlike the winners of the various non-academic cups.³⁶ The Academic Cup was presented to the winner at the closing ceremonies, a platform shared only with normalites who won school scholarships.³⁷ Winning the Academic Cup also afforded one a prominent place in the local newspaper. The information that *Mr. Ted Caldwell of Killam, star of 1937-38 class, was awarded the Academic Cup, Physical Training Medal and scholarship and other awards* was the lead-in to the Camrose Canadian report which addressed the closing of the Camrose Normal School.³⁸

Rewards at normal school also came in the form of various prizes. These ranged from certificates and scholarships to garments and pins. A long-standing fixture in the normal schools was the Physical Training certificate. E.W. Coffin, at this time Acting Principal of

³⁴ NSAR, 1930, p.28. Edmonton and Calgary gave out scholarships, to be discussed below.

³⁵ NSAR, 1932, p.30.

³⁶ See, for examples, NSAR, 1931, p.29; 1933, p.29; and 1934, p.30. What was implied by the fact that academic awards were awarded for individual prowess, while non-academic awards were for presented for group ability? What was the impact of this distinction on normalites? That education was essentially an individual, competitive pursuit?

³⁷ "Program - Provincial Normal School Camrose - Alberta" June 3rd, 1937. NSF, PAA 78.92-1.

³⁸ CC, June 8, 1938.

the Calgary Normal, explains its creation and value.

*A further extension of the work during the year was the introduction, under the contract with the Strathcona Trust, of a course in Physical Training. Classes were begun in the second session, and a full thirty hours' course was completed before Christmas. Although the work has necessarily been conducted after the regular teaching hours the course has been quite successful, and has on the whole been thoroughly enjoyed by the students. Apart from its value as a part of the teacher training it is of distinct value to the students personally.... Sergeant Instructor Armitage...has given general satisfaction.*³⁹

In 1932, it was reported that *The Strathcona Trust made the usual awards of scholarships and class medals this year.*⁴⁰

By 1938, the award was simply referred to as *The Strathcona Scholarships in Physical Education*, the winner receiving free attendance in an advanced Physical Training course at Summer School.⁴¹

Perhaps the most significant award of all (aside from the interim certificate) was the teaching scholarship offered at the Edmonton Normal School.

*The Edmonton Public School Board No. 7 has agreed to appoint to its teaching staff two outstanding graduates of this Normal School per year.... These are great incentives to our students.*⁴²

³⁹ NSAR, 1911, p.47.

⁴⁰ NSAR, 1932, p.27. The names of the male and female winners are given.

⁴¹ NSAR, 1938, pp.28-9. One male and two female winners were named. The Summer School Physical Training course was an advanced course comprised of four subjects. It was so intensive that it demanded a student's full attention. Letter from Director of Summer Schools to E.W. Coffin, May 31, 1934. 78.92-2 PAA.

⁴² NSAR, 1928, p.30. This award did not exist in Camrose, where the limited number of teaching vacancies in the town undoubtedly dictated against it. Thus they utilized the Academic Cup. No reference could be found indicating a similar award at the Calgary Normal School.

Winners of this award were identified in the annual report of the Principal of the Edmonton Normal School. For example, in 1930 it was reported that

*The prizes of the positions on the city teaching staff, offered by the Edmonton Public School Board to the most promising male and female students of the year, were awarded to Margaret Gee of the first class, and Jack Pollett of the second class.*⁴³

Significantly, this award could motivate all normalites, whether female or male, first or second class. The emotional state created by the tactic of dispersion, the rigours of teaching in an isolated rural environment,⁴⁴ and the difficulty of obtaining an urban placement,⁴⁵ ensured that the opportunity to teach in Edmonton was a powerful incentive for many normalites to accommodate themselves to the best of their ability to the norms of the institution.

There were numerous other prizes. Some were academically oriented. All normalites had the opportunity to win a *Special Penmanship Certificate*.⁴⁶ At the Camrose Normal School, a *Girls' Physical Training Shield* was

⁴³ NSAR, 1930, p.24.

⁴⁴ For the demands on the rural school teacher see John Charyk, *The Little White Schoolhouse* (Saskatoon: Prairie Books, 1971), particularly Chapter 11.

⁴⁵ For example, in 1929, besides the two award winners, only one normalite was reported to have been appointed directly to the Edmonton Public School Board. NSAR, 1929, p.30.

⁴⁶ Letter from E. Hastie to G.F. McNally, April 14, 1933. NSF, PAA 78.92-1. To write the qualifying test for this award, normalites had to pay a fee. Memo, E.W. Coffin, June 7, 1933. NSF, PAA 78.92-1. A considerable number did. For example, at the Edmonton Normal School in 1932, it was reported that 85 students were awarded the certificate, out of a total enrolment of 225. NSAR 1932, pp.30, 32.

available to be won.⁴⁷ In 1935, normalites at the Edmonton Normal School were eligible for the *Alumni Scholarship*.⁴⁸ Alumni scholarships were also available at the Camrose Normal School, where Mr. Lambert, a previous winner of the Academic Cup, explained to normalites that there the Memorial Fund awarded

*two scholarships of \$25.00...to the two students holding the highest score in practice teaching. The scholarships are awarded by the Alumni Association and are payable when the winning students take a summer school course.*⁴⁹

There were many financial awards. At Calgary, in 1921, *the R.B. Bennett Prize [was] offered by Mr. Bennett on the occasion of his visit to the school.... Mr. Bennett let his generosity go so far as to leave the conditions of the award entirely to our judgement. The amount was Fifty Dollars, and we divided this equally between the First and Second Classes, to the student in each ranking highest in the following respects: Class work, practice teaching, co-operative spirit. The winners were....*⁵⁰

Sometimes the financial awards were unofficially given, as in the case of a outstanding Edmonton normalite, who was given \$20.00 to attend Summer School and thereby complete Grade Twelve.⁵¹

Other non-academic awards also proliferated. Normal school attire was in demand, ensuring the popularity of the 1932 Boys' Basketball House League at the Calgary Normal School. *Participation was enthusiastic; the incentive - the*

⁴⁷ CC, December 13, 1928; and March 28, 1929.

⁴⁸ NSAR, 1935, p.35.

⁴⁹ CC, March 22, 1933. The winners of this award were identified. NSAR, 1932, pp.30-1.

⁵⁰ NSAR, 1921, p.39.

⁵¹ Letter from G.S. Lord to J.T. Ross (Deputy Minister of Education), October 19, 1932. NSF, PAA 78.92-1.

coveted Normal sweater.⁵² At the Camrose Normal School, The members of the orchestra were presented by Mr. Haverstock on behalf of the Students' Union with smart blazers as a token of appreciation.⁵³ Other awards were unspecified. At the Edmonton Normal School the Debating Club sponsored a competition during which ...a series of speeches was given under the general topic, "The March of Time." The prize donated by the club was won by Floyd MacMillan.⁵⁴ At a Friday night party in the Camrose Normal School Assembly Hall for students, guests, and instructors ...several games and contests, including two relays and an advertisement contest, volley ball, curling, and a limerick contest were carried on. The winning group - brown - of all the games, was presented with a prize.⁵⁵

In the Extractions From Certain Diaries On Social Events, it was confided that *This dance tonight was my last fling. Now I'm "out". But the costumes were marvellous! Some of the girls were exquisite. The judges had a hard time, I noticed.*⁵⁶

Public Recognition

The final micro-technology of awards which needs to be considered is that one which granted no trophies or prizes per se, but which promoted the winner as a positive example for his or her peers. Such acknowledgement was manifested in various ways. One might be singled out by normal school

⁵² CgNSYB, 1932-33, p.50. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

⁵³ CC, January 6, 1937.

⁵⁴ ENSYB, 1936-37, p.64. NSF, PAA 72.298-2.

⁵⁵ CC, November 25, 1936.

⁵⁶ This was the diary of a staff member. CgNSYB, 1936-37, p.28. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

administrators, in annual reports, for example.⁵⁷ Normalites were also recognized in the local newspaper (in Camrose, anyway), and in the yearbooks. Generally these two latter types of recognition were for one of two types of achievement: sporting and all else.

Those successful in sports regularly found their names in the newspaper and the yearbook. This entry in the *Camrose Canadian* was not unusual.

*An exciting and also an interesting game was witnessed by a cosmopolitan crowd of hockey enthusiasts Monday when the normal team with the aid of young McKinley played Bashaw in the "once had but never again" class of players. Joe Dussault and Lorne McKinley were the star players of the night, their movements being eagerly watched by the crowd.... The line-up were as follows....*⁵⁸

Inevitably, yearbooks had a picture of each of the sporting teams, individuals identified by name [see Photo 1, next page].⁵⁹ Often just as inevitable as the photograph were the player biographies. This one, of Jean A. Hamilton of the Girls' Basketball team at the Calgary Normal School, was standard.

*Is said to be one of the best players on the team. Like many of our other players in both boys' and girls' basketball this year, she comes from the southern part of the province. In the early part of the season she held down her position of left guard on two teams, the St. Michaels' girls being the other. However, as the season progressed she found school work too pressing, so had to discontinue playing with that team.*⁶⁰

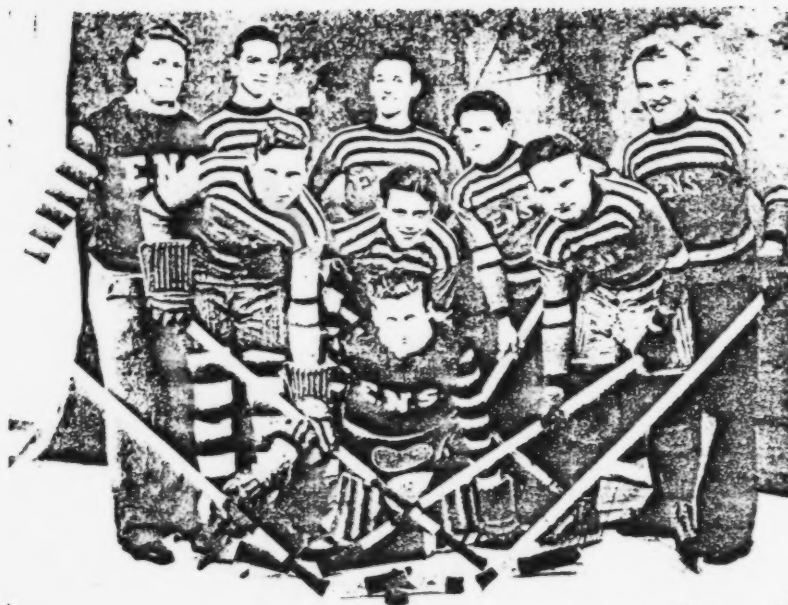
A commitment to school work, above all else, made her a particularly appropriate model for her peers.

⁵⁷ Numerous such cases have already been identified.

⁵⁸ CC, February 15, 1917.

⁵⁹ ENSYB, 1937-38, p.59. Private Collection.

⁶⁰ CgNSYB, 1929-30, p. 20. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.



BOYS' HOCKEY

* * * *

Hockey again came into the limelight of the sporting activities of the school. The team chosen to represent the school consisted of:

Goal—Harry Leskiw.

Defence—Doug. McLeod, Egbert Wells.

Forwards—Lawrence Oszust, Harold Park, Cyril McPherson, John Mazurek, Peter Farrus, Torlief Walhovd.

PHOTO 1

The other individuals who received recognition honoured themselves (and their school) in some non-sporting fashion. The *Camrose Canadian* kept its readers abreast with the activities of such individuals. This included identifying actors, noting, for example, that *Miss Elsie Heathcote* was selected as leading lady, with *Booty Thompson* as co-star.⁶¹ Reporting on a school social, the correspondent suggested that *We must not forget to mention*

⁶¹ CC, February 14, 1918.

the orchestra which played for a part of the evening.... The personnel is as follows....⁶². Student Union activities were also newsworthy subjects, as is indicated by this report from a 1937 issue.

MR. E. CALDWELL, PRES. OF THE STUDENTS' UNION

Election of the Students' Union executive was carried on amid much good-natured rivalry. Three slates were up: Specialist, Normalist and Popular Front.. considerable campaigning was done.... Voting on Oct. 4th finished with Normalites in the majority: President E. Caldwell; Vice-Pres., Miss D. Pybus; Sec., Miss H. Lawrence; Treas., G. Lewis; conveners: social, Miss M. Wallis; program, Miss M. Slater.⁶³

Such participation was also recognized in the yearbooks [see Photo 2, next page].⁶⁴

Individuals involved in all forms of extra-curricular activities were invariably singled out in yearbooks. While it was usual for each normalite to have some biographical comment, the occasional entry stood out, as for example did George Oldring's. He was defined as ...a prominent member of the student body being on the editorial staff of the "Normal Echo"....⁶⁵ Prominent individuals from Literary Competitions were identified, as, for example, was the case with the 1932-33 Class IA at Calgary. The main feature of this program were two plays. One was "Swimmin' Pools," starring the irrepressible Mr. Epp, Mr. Cy Hampson, love sick youth, and Mr. Inkster with his monocle.⁶⁶ Clubs proliferated and members were duly recognized with the most

⁶² CC, October 18, 1928.

⁶³ CC, October 20, 1937.

⁶⁴ CgNSYB, 1929-30, p.15. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

⁶⁵ The Normal Echo was the Camrose Normal School newspaper. CmNSYB, 1929-30, p.16. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

⁶⁶ CgNSYB, 1932-33, p.53. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

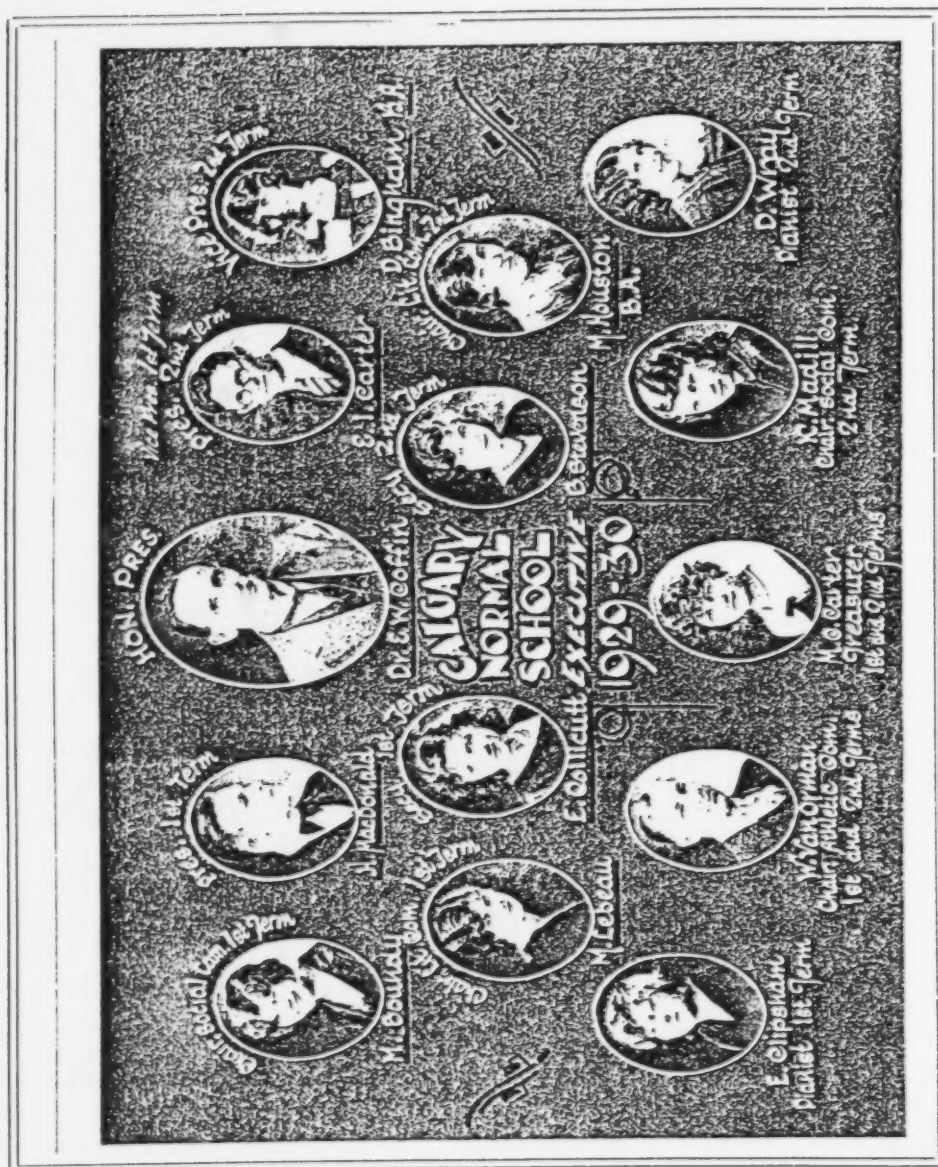


PHOTO 2

common fashion of recognition: the photo [See Photo 3, next page].⁶⁷ There were obviously many ways to reward the normalite who desired and acted to invest him or her self with institutional norms.

Awards were not merely an incentive to act in the fashion desired by the authorities within the institution. The process of awards was internalized. Their presence and use in the normal schools had the effect of transforming them from training means to training ends. As their use within the institutions was intensified, they came to represent an important facet of the reconstructed identity; the pursuit of awards cultivated characteristics which likely became part of the teacher inventory. Education was to be rooted in competition. Thus, technologies which emphasized competition were considered appropriate and necessary means of education. Of course, this also belied a certain vision of the individual: action is a result of baser motives. He or she cannot be expected to behave in the desired fashion without extrinsic reward. This vision was complimented by the many individual awards, which taught normalites that personal interests were more important than those of the collective. However, this message was tempered by group awards and other technologies of investiture which sought to bond normalites. It was an imbalance, an absurd conflict, that probably caused further anxiety and confusion among normalites.

Ultimately, the awards' structure, the competitive process it represented, became a privileged means for developing the self, particularly by those who were successful, but, as it was so thoroughly a part of the normal experience, surely by all subject to it. Normalites

⁶⁷ CmNSYB, 1931-32, p.41. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

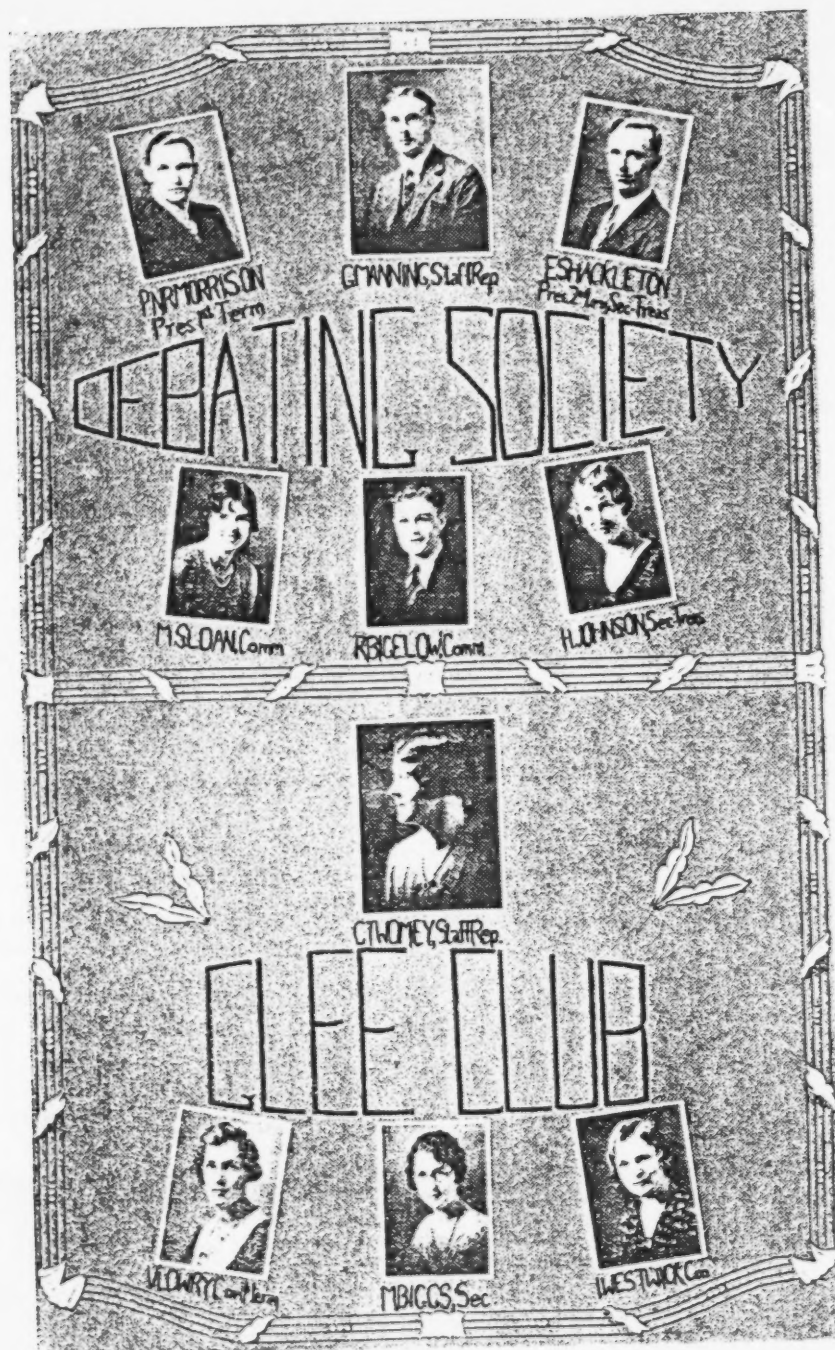


PHOTO 3

likely carried it with them when they left their normal school for the final time.

UNITY

The success of deconstructive reconstruction was heavily dependent on bonding between normalites, and the motivation it generated. Thus, unity proved to be a particularly important technology in the exercise of investiture. It operated on two distinct levels. First, efforts were exerted which promoted the unity of normalites within the institution. Second, a normal school tradition was fashioned, into which normalites were placed. Ultimately both these activities shared a common design: to plant and cultivate seeds of group consciousness. It was from such seeds that desire flowered.

The separation achieved by the tactic of exposure functioned to consolidate in the tactic of investiture. Thus, the identification which designated normalites as a unique and specific group, also served as a cement. The normalites' isolation from their previous community intensified this bond, encouraging them to act in the best interests of their new family. Normalites were not unaware that their individual actions might well have an impact on the success or failure of the group. Through the creation of shared responsibility, normalites often found themselves striving to master institutional norms, in an effort to further the success of the group which was their new community. It is likely that, particularly on a subconscious level, normalites could be made to believe that a failure to perform to the best of their ability (vis a vis the dictates of the institution), would let their class, their new family down.

The normal school authorities also actively

constructed a teacher training tradition into which all normalites could fit. Not only were normalites made responsible for their classmates, but also for their predecessors, and, ultimately, their successors. Efforts were exercised to make normalites believe that their individual actions had repercussions beyond any immediate impact on themselves and their contemporaries. In essence, normal school was about creating a shared consciousness which, when successfully fabricated, would go unquestioned.

The bond between contemporary normalites, those at the institution at the same time, was primarily effected by two micro-technologies.⁶⁸ At an internal level, a micro-

⁶⁸ While I have chosen not to explore the content of the normal school's academic curriculum in this study, it is well to suggest the impact of the enterprise system on teacher training practices, particularly class unity. Enterprise education was the Albertan manifestation of progressive education, the later inspired largely by American educational practitioner John Dewey. Inquiry based, progressive education was child-centred, and geared towards preparing the individual to participate responsibly in a democracy. Normal school instructor Donald Dickie was the Albertan expert on progressive education, and in 1940 she published a book, The Enterprise in Theory and Practice (Toronto: W.J. Gage & Co.), which illustrated her understanding of the practice. Undoubtedly, the ideas she explored therein had been forming since at least 1935-36, when enterprise education was formally introduced into the Alberta curriculum.

In her work, Dickie expounded on the importance of the concepts of unity via co-operation and responsibility in enterprise education. Clearly, she wrote, *democracy would work much more effectively if its members were trained in co-operative behaviour* [p.56]. *...civilized behaviour is co-operative. Civilization is the child of co-operation, and only by co-operation can it survive. To train the child in co-operative behaviour is...the...duty of organized education* [p.71]. *The...central function of the enterprise school is to train the individual in group behaviour, to provide him with a variety of social purposes each of which he must try to attain with satisfaction to himself and to the group; in short, to develop the citizen* [p.91]. Emerging from Dickie's understanding of enterprise

technology of unity operated to define groups within the institution, a definition which facilitated the normalites' knowledge of each other. This knowledge was eventually transformed into a willingness to act in the best interest of the more refined group of which one was a member, a desire to act for the good of those one had gotten to know so well. A second micro-technology promoted the normal school as a tightly defined group. Normalites interacted with the external community, primarily through extracurricular activities, as members of their institution. Encountered as normalites by various non-inmates, their identity came to be that of the normalite. And, as a normalite, they had to do their best to uphold the standing of the institution.

Normalite Classmates

Some of the institutional efforts which promoted the creation of groups with well defined boundaries have previously been discussed as a technology of separation. Upon entering normal school, one was placed in a class, and the designation of that class became part of the normalite's identity for his or her period of teacher training. Every attempt was made to ensure that these classes would enhance the bonding between normalites. The identity which emerged is most evident in normal school yearbooks, the strongest memorial of normal activities.

education is an emphasis on co-operation and responsibility achieved in a communal environment. Given the importance of enterprise education to the Alberta educational curriculum, activities which promoted such practices and attitudes were undoubtedly promoted within the normal school, and served to further bond normalites.

For further information on progressive education in Alberta, see Nick Kach, et al, eds. Essays on Canadian Education, (1986; reprint ed., Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1987).

Individual entries to the yearbook regularly included the contributor's name and class. For example, the poem *The Normalite* was written by Anna Ruzicka, IID, while *Spring Song* was penned by M. Dakin, 1A.⁶⁹ Normalite biographies were arranged by class.⁷⁰ These individual biographies were sometimes supplemented by class biographies, of which this entry is representative.

Class IIE

This is the tale of 2E, as told from a 2E standpoint. Why? Because no one who has not actually been a member of this famous class can express it. We fear also that an outsider, judging by the glowing exterior which our 2E presents, would innocently pay us exaggerated compliments and give us undue praise. So, let the modesty of 2E prevail against this flattery by telling its own story, with the truthful simplicity proverbial of the class.

.... All 2E students are experts in Art, music, P.T., practice teaching, psychology, literature, the essentials of "born teachers".... 2E boasts a general smattering of musical and artistic talent, a squad of efficient basketball stars, and hikers. The class is linked by a great common tie - we are constantly moneyless. However, we made a virtue of this necessity in our great hard-times party. Much more might be said of 2E, but less us conclude by thinking of years to come.

*When the twilight of evening dims the sun's last ray,
And the mists of night gather fast,
There will be one fleeting hour when we shall hear the
old call ringing back again,*

*Ringo, chingo, helligo, sikus,
We're from 2E, how do you like us?
Ringo, chingo, helligo, bang,
We're the happy 2E gang.*

⁶⁹ Ruzicka's poem is in the CmNSYB, 1929-30, p.37. NSF, PAA 84.484-2; Dakin's poem can be found in ENSYB, 1929-30, p.25. NSF, PAA 84.484-3.

⁷⁰ CgNSYB, 1930-31, pp.14-44. NSF, PAA 84.484-1; ENSYB, 1929-30, pp.12-44. NSF, PAA 84.484-3; and CmNSYB, 1931-32, pp.8-23. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

*And now 2E at your service.*⁷¹

This description emanates bonding: the notion of the outsider, the coming together in adversity, the praise of members, and a class song.

Gender also informed classroom organization.⁷² Classes

⁷¹ CgNSYB, 1929-30, p.70. NSF, PAA 84.484-1. See also CgNSYB 1932-33, p.37. NSF, PAA 84.484-1; and CmNSYB 1929-30, p.57. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

⁷² The issue of gender is not prominent in this study. I discovered little evidence to suggest that female normalites were treated differently than their male counterparts. Certainly, in the first two decades of normal school operation, there were indications that normal school principals bemoaned the paucity of men in the teaching profession. The comments of W.A. Stickle were representative: *...quite a large proportion of those in attendance state quite frankly that they are using it for a stepping stone. When questioned regarding their reasons for avoiding teaching as a life profession they complain that "a teacher has no future" and point to the fact that in other professions the men are encouraged to become experts, and special talent and special teaching are adequately remunerated, while in teaching, an ambitious man with good capacity "soon reaches the top" both professionally and financially. Stickle suggested that this situation furnish[ed] food for thought as [it] has a distinct bearing on the efficiency on the educational forces of the Province....* NSAR, 1920, p.58.

While Stickle's reflections imply presuppositions about the female teacher's (in)ability to be efficient, it is difficult to determine how that attitude was manifested in the normal school. Indeed, it can be argued that the relationship between men and women within the institution was characterized by degrees of impartiality rather than of inequality. For example, a list of normal school staff net earnings for 1940 indicates an average salary of \$2,222.33, and a range of \$654.25 to \$3,075.84. While there were five women included on the list, only two were normal school instructors: R. Chittick (\$2,246.40) and O.M. Fisher (\$2,630.86). As for the composition of normal school staff, women had a considerable presence. Of the total normal school staff for 1921-22, there were eight women and fourteen men. At Camrose Normal School in 1929-30, there were three women and six men. At the Calgary Normal School in 1930-31, the normal school staff consisted of four women

were generally structured around the sex of the normalite.⁷³ In light of this organization, the class biographies of the 1929-30 Calgary Normal School are quite interesting.

*Class IA: IA is the famous "mixed class," the "experiment," as some of the instructors call it, of the school. Together with our sisters in IB we make up what Mr. Hutton so fondly calls the "cream," and "the salt of the earth."... Our female students are, of course, quieter than the violent males. Both boys and girls co-operate in their school work, helping each other with their burdens. The girls provide that measure of comfort and kindness necessary to bruised brains while men add strength and vigor to our attempts.*⁷⁴

*Class IB: It was a great day in the history of the Calgary Normal school when the list of IB "lady bachelors" was compiled containing the forty-two girls it does. In absolute isolation, away from all diverting influences (at least during class) we trip up on our way, absorbing all the newest tricks and methods of pedagogy. Mme Ellis-Browne had a 100% success in one class, and that was IB.*⁷⁵

The absence of a mixed class four years after the initial attempt likely reflects the possibility that normal administration thought the experiment a failure, the diverting influences unnecessary and undesirable obstacles. Thus, an elite class comprised of the most proficient normalites (including both male and female) was sacrificed

and nine men. At the Edmonton Normal School in 1937-38, there were two women and five men. Both women, D.J. Dickie and E.A. Hastie had university degrees, while only three of the men did; indeed, Dickie was the only member to possess a doctorate. See PNS [Provincial Normal School] Net Earnings for Staff, 1940 (List). NSF, PAA 78.92-1; ANSA, 1921-22, pp.6-8; CgNSYB, 1930-31, pp.9-11. NSF, PAA 84.484-2; CmNSYB, 1929-30, pp.5-7; and ENSYB, 1937-38, pp.8-9. Private Collection.

⁷³ See p.153 for the statistical breakdown.

⁷⁴ CgNSYB, 1929-30, p.36. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

⁷⁵ CgNSYB, 1929-30, p.42. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

because the mixing of genders interfered with the bonding of the group. The technology of unity, which demanded such bonding, proved victorious over academic (and, presumably, professional) considerations.

Normal school administrators were aware of the advantages to be gained by developing closely weaved groups within the normal school. One of the various gratifying effects of the extension of the normal school course from four to eight months, for example, was its impact on the tightness of the knit of normal school community. E.W. Coffin reflected that *With extending experience of the eight months' course we find among our students a wholesome development of school unity....*⁷⁶ On another occasion he elaborated on the point.

*It is pleasant to note the growth of friendships and of a wholesome school fellowship through the longer session. It is no doubt an actual fact that permanent alliances have resulted from Normal School acquaintance; we have no reason to deplore such possibilities.*⁷⁷

To enhance the quality of the normal knit, administrators made various efforts to strengthen the unity of the groups at the class level. As these groupings were rather artificial, that is, individuals were initially arranged without their active support/desire, activities were undertaken which could quickly and effectively cultivate group boundaries. This helps to explain the various opening ceremonies designed to transcend individuality. The best example of this, which has been explored as a tactic of exposure, is the introductory event, organized around a class structure, and which acted to promote communal

⁷⁶ NSAR, 1922, p.42.

⁷⁷ NSAR, 1921, p.38.

desires.⁷⁸

Identification with one's class was promoted in various other ways. Daily activities swirled around the classroom structure, eventually integrating the organization into the normalite identity. At each normal school inter-class competitions were standard. These competitions ranged from the academic to the sporting. The class program, a variety show comprised of acting, reading and singing, was a weekly ritual.⁷⁹ At the Calgary Normal School the yearbook reported that *Among the most notable of this term's [term 1] programs were those of IIC, IIA, IA.*⁸⁰ Similar programs were held at the Edmonton Normal School.

The Program Committee is made up of an elected representative from each room. The Vice-President of the Student's Council is the chairman. These students worked, under the guidance of Dr. Tuck, to plan the programs for the term....

*Class B gave an excellent program, the second in the series. They illustrated the different groups of Canadians working for the early development of Canada, under the title "The Builder's of Canada". A convincing tableau. "May God Preserve Thee, Canada," concluded the performance.*⁸¹

As awards were offered for the best class program in any given year, pressure was constantly exerted for each member of the class to do his or her best in hopes of achieving success. House basketball leagues served a similar function.

Girls' Athletics

During the first term the inter-class basketball

⁷⁸ See pp.139-46 for examples.

⁷⁹ CmNSYB, 1929-30, p.57. NSF, PAA 84.484-2; ENSYB, 1936-37, pp.56-7. NSF, PAA 72.298-2; and CgNSYB 1932-33, pp.52-4. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

⁸⁰ CmNSYB, 1929-30, p.14. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

⁸¹ ENSYB, 1936-37, p.56-7. NSF, PAA 72.298-2. Similar descriptions were given for each class, A through D.

league proved to be a great success. Throughout all the games co-operation and sportsmanship were fully displayed.

At the beginning of the term Sergeant Barker formed a league composed of two to three teams from each class. The games of this series were played with much interest and enthusiasm....

At the conclusion of this series, the most promising players of all the classes were selected to form the Girls' Normal School Basketball team. This team consisted of....⁸²

At the Camrose Normal School The basketball activities opened in the fall by the organizing of the girls' house league. Were the games exciting? You should have watched the battles between IA and IID.⁸³ Apparently these inter-class leagues were quite popular, as indicated by this yearbook contribution.

This league is composed of some eleven teams, comprising about 85% of the normal students. To stimulate interest Birks and Sons have donated a beautiful trophy which is to be awarded to the winning team.⁸⁴

Inter-class rivalry, intimate spurs to personal action, was also generated through other extra-curricular activities, such as debating competitions. In some cases this was part of the weekly class program, as the Camrose Canadian reported.

A lively debate opened the program for Friday afternoon, the subject being Resolved that Camrose is the best location for the Normal School.... Miss Poole and Mr. Gratz representing the First Class presented the arguments for the affirmative while Miss Curtis and Mr. Haworth, representatives for the Second Class, took up cudgels for the negative. The judges after much cogitation, decided the First Class has [sic] won by a very narrow margin.⁸⁵

Inter-class debating was also part of the extra-curricular

⁸² ENSYB, 1936-37, p.72. NSF, PAA 72.298-2.

⁸³ CmNSYB, 1929-30, p.51. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

⁸⁴ CgNSYB, 1930-31, p.38. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

⁸⁵ CC, October 5, 1916.

functions as a singular activity. *A series of inter-class debates was held on the subject, Resolved, that Dress Reform is Desirable.*⁸⁶

Normalite Contemporaries

While, at one level, normalites were identified as being members of a specific class, at another level, no less important, they were portrayed as normalites, teachers in training at one of the normal schools. Their interaction with the community was largely rooted in such an identity, as was the relationship which emerged between normal schools. As normalites, their actions reflected on, and were seen as a reflection of, the normal school.

Normalites were often a recognizable group. This was particularly the case in the smaller setting of Camrose. Sporting events there regularly took place between the normalites and other organizations.

*Last Friday night the girls of second class played a lively game of basketball with the Lutheran College team. The Normal girls played a heavy handicap, both of their regular forwards, Miss Gallagher and [sic] Miss Sheets, being out of the game, and one of the guards, Miss Haddigan out with a sprained thumb.... Miss Reigs played a fine game.... Miss Tipman played a fine game as guard.... Line-up: Forwards, Gallagher, Sheets, Reigs; centre, Stevens; guards, Heric, Tipman, Gares.*⁸⁷

*One basketball game to report, that between C.H.S. and the C.N.S. boys. The result was big win for the High School.... Line-up for Normal - Bevington, Freehill, Taylor, Baker, Kruger, Bushko, Sanders and Merta.*⁸⁸

These events were important to normalites. Not only did participants receive public recognition, but as

⁸⁶ ENSYB, 1936-37, p.65. NSF, PAA 72.298-2. The names of class representatives were given.

⁸⁷ CC, January 29, 1920.

⁸⁸ CC, March 3, 1937.

representatives of the normal school, they upheld the honour of that institution. Win or lose, it was of the utmost importance that the team give a good account of itself....⁸⁹

The bonding that occurred as a result of intra-normal school events was perhaps the stickiest glue of all. Such activities were comprehensive and impressive. The correspondent to the *Camrose Canadian* submitted a detailed, and revealing, report.

That Edmonton Party

On Friday, the 17th, members of the Camrose Normal school and staff, visited the Edmonton Normal school, where they were feted in a manner becoming their desire and inclination. At one o'clock the bus, crowded to capacity with from forty-six to fifty Normalites, drew away from the building. The ride was noisily gay. The Camrosians would insist on serenading the small towns along the way with school songs. Arrived in Edmonton after what was undoubtedly the longest two hours of the bus driver's life, the students were ushered through a maze of halls. After being thoroughly wound up, they found themselves in the auditorium, where they heard the closing numbers of a lovely music program.

Our students found the Edmonton Normal very interesting and beautiful. Especially noticeable in the hall were the paintings by masters.

The athletic events were a bit one-sided. Both Camrose basket-ball teams were defeated and the hockey teams tied with a score of 1-1.

After the games a sumptuous dinner for about 200 students of both schools was served in the cafeteria. The tables were decorated in black, gold and green, the C.N.S. colors. The after-dinner speeches, to the delight of the diners, were few and short.

Then came the ball! Dancing was held in the gym, where the Edmonton school orchestra liberally sprinkled the air with lively numbers. The place was beautifully decorated with Valentine motifs. There were many good tags and novelty numbers.

And so, far, far into the night, until the bus gathered the sheep back into the fold and returned them to their respective boarding houses [sic]. Everyone said it was a most successful day, and Mr. P. Scramstad, who played

⁸⁹ CC, November 22, 1917.

*chaperon, put the seal of his approval on it.*⁹⁰

An analysis of this report demonstrates the operation of numerous micro-technologies enhancing unity.⁹¹ The event itself, allowing normalites to share in their commonness, was undoubtedly unifying. Events promoted teamwork between normalites, necessary for success. The concluding party, a shared event, joined all normalites. Considering there were 252 normalites at the Edmonton Normal School during this term⁹², a turn-out of 150 was quite respectable, and demonstrated the importance of the event. The trip, the right to represent the normal school in competition, and to enjoy the accompanying social activities, were prominently part of the awards structure. School songs were enjoyed.

The school songs were an interesting micro-technology of unity. Each normal school had a number of songs from which they could draw. Often these were the responsibility of the Rooters' Club, though, as is evident from this report from the *Camrose Canadian*, it was a tradition maintained, for some time, by normal staff.

The corridors seem filled with weird and fiendish howls since Mr. Powell [an instructor] gave us a lesson on "rooting." For the benefit of those not familiar with the Normal Yell we quote it below:

⁹⁰ CC, February 22, 1933. Generally, staff members accompanied the normalites on these jaunts. See CC, March 2, 1922; and March 6, 1924.

⁹¹ The report also reflects the operation of technologies which supported other tactics. The presence of staff and a chaperon, and the boarding houses each indicate exposure. The reactions of confusion and impression brought about by an encounter with the institution itself suggest dispersion. The outlandish behaviour on the journey is a privilege granted to those undergoing the rites of passage, and can also be said to be indicative of dispersion.

⁹² NSAR, 1933, p.29.

"Pedagogy, Psychology, History and Law,
 Camrose Normal Rah! Rah! Rah!
 Mathematics, Hydrostatics, C.N.S.
 We are the Normal, Well I guess,
 N O R M A L, Normal!"⁹³

As this "yell" from the Edmonton Normal Yearbook demonstrates, the songs were fairly similar.

History methods, Music methods!
Science methods, Art!
Will we all be teachers?
Gosh Almighty, Yes!
We can rattle Math and Spelling,
But when it comes to yelling
Are we in it?
Well I guess!
We belong to E.N.S.
When we're out, we're in.
Normal! Normal!
*Wade right in.*⁹⁴

Songs, such as these, celebrated the normal school community and activities which bonded the normalites. One normalite recalled similar events in a poem, *The Trip to Edmonton or The Covered Wagon* which left no doubt as to the fun that was had, and the impact of the day.

But all things end - the morn and the noon,
And life, and the neck of a lover;
So the end of the trip came all to soon:
We wept to think it was over.

To bed each groggily groped his way
To sleep the sleep of the blest,
And dream of a jiggledy-iggledy dray
*With the black-green-and-gold on its crest.*⁹⁵

The bond which participants experienced with their institution was intense.

⁹³ CC, September 16, 1915.

⁹⁴ ENSYB, 1929-30, p.51. NSF, PAA 84.484-3.

⁹⁵ CmNSYB, 1931-32, p.44. NSF, PAA 84.484-2. These are stanzas ten and twelve of a twelve stanza poem.

Participation in many normal school events were characterized by exclusivity. Certainly, events which demanded an audience necessarily (and beneficially) incorporated many non-normalites. However, there were also events designed to limit the impact of potentially corrosive external influences. This was particularly desirable given that teacher training was designed to manipulate all aspects of the normalite life which might in some way be related to teaching. In the words of G.K. Haverstock,

*A professional curriculum includes all controllable influences operating to make the student an effective teacher, the prescribed courses of study; the institutional life; the personal example of instructors.*⁹⁶

E.W. Coffin reported that

*...all social affairs are attended by at least two of the staff, as official chaperons. There has been, happily, very little ground for complaint in respect of the management of social affairs, but continual care has to be exercised lest outside influences lead to ill report. Admission of outside guests is, necessarily, strictly limited.*⁹⁷

G.S. Lord expressed a comparable sentiment.

*The social affairs of the school have been carefully planned and ably managed. The staff desires that much of the social life of the students centre about the school. For this reason, functions of various kinds are held frequently. Staff members, as in other years, have given freely of their time in this regard.*⁹⁸

Elsewhere, Lord indicated some specific efforts to enhance the normalite's social life, and the rationale therefore.

Just now we are installing loudspeakers in the skating rink and in the gymnasium at a cost of \$90. The latter will greatly facilitate the matter of physical education, and

⁹⁶ NSAR, 1937, p.38.

⁹⁷ NSAR, 1925, p.42.

⁹⁸ NSAR, 1930, p.31.

*the former will provide healthful amusement to the pupils who are unable to afford other types of amusement, and will, I hope, make it possible to have evenings devoted to something else than dancing.*⁹⁹

Similar precautions were taken in Camrose, where

*The staff and social committee have done their best to provide plenty of good entertainment at the School. The result has been that students have sought their pleasure here instead of elsewhere, making the evenings more enjoyable and strengthening the group spirit.*¹⁰⁰

Thus parties were held every two weeks at the Camrose Normal School. To insulate against influences which might disrupt the proper formation of the teacher, tight control was maintained through an ostensibly seamless unity.

How successful were these efforts at unity? If the sentiment of Hilda Adcock was indicative, they proved fruitful.

"GOOD BYE"

And wither goest thou?

This thought is uppermost in our minds as our two hundred fellow students are about to scatter to the four corners of Alberta.

There are toasts to the ladies, to countries' [sic] and to kings. We toast the friendships we have made, - in what ever way your lot is cast, may it be a bright and happy one, filled with still more friends and the joy of success.

May we remember that success and happiness come only as the result of honest labor. An eminent American statesman once said, "Men give me credit for genius, but all the genius I have lies in this: When I have a subject on hand I study it profoundly. The effect I make they call the fruit of genius, it is, however, the fruit of labor and thought." And what can bar young men and women from success if they are ablaze with determinations and an earnest desire to seize each opportunity and use it well?

May we leave with others the blessings we have gained, may we pass on some of the kindnesses shown to us.

⁹⁹ Letter from G.S. Lord to J.T. Ross, December 12, 1932. NSF, PAA 78.92-1.

¹⁰⁰ CmNSYB, 1929-30, p.56. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

And now, as we leave these halls, we smile bravely to each other and call "Bon Voyage!"¹⁰¹

Or, as a note, inscribed on the autograph page of an Edmonton Normal Yearbook, shared

*I can never forget-
Those long telephone calls-
The long stories of very personal matters.
You're "Utopian"-
And "Fairyland "Fantasies."
The worry, work etc about
"Have you you're art done? May I have you're notes.
The Normal dances.-
And all the fun - at lunch times. Theres hundreds &
hundreds of things.
Please don't forget my address. Use it often.
Love - Marg.¹⁰²*

The unity within the normal schools was quite profoundly, and intimately, real.

The Normal School Tradition

The normal school tradition was active within the institution as a third primary micro-technology of unity. This tradition was very much of a continuum; rooted in the past, it extended into the future, submerging those normalites trained in the present. It was a tradition, like many traditions, embedded in responsibility. Tradition ensured that the normalite had certain standards to live up to; untoward actions could not be allowed to corrupt that tradition. Similarly, the normalite was aware that his or her actions would be important as a standard for future normalites. Deviation from those standards, those norms which maintained unity, had the potential of disrupting the

¹⁰¹ CmNSYB, 1929-30, pp.40-1. NSF, PAA 84.484-2. Adcock was a member of Class IIA, Camrose Normal School, 1929-30. Note her emphasis on efficiency.

¹⁰² ENSYB, 1937-38, p.90. Private Collection. The writing is at it appears in the yearbook.

continuum; normality was of the essence. Thus, the actions of a normalite were predicated upon his or her consideration of the impact of those actions upon all normalites. Properly manipulated, an assimilating tradition was uniquely suited to bring out the best in participants. The normalite was responsible for more than his or her self, his or her class. The hand on the shoulder and the anxious child were cautious counsellors.

Normal administrators actively worked to establish a normal school tradition. E.W. Coffin detailed how normal school events operated towards this end.

*Inter-school activities have also, with the generous assistance of the Department in defraying expenses, got under way. Our basket-ball girls met defeat at the hands of the Camrose team, but our debating team, on the same trip, brought back the honors. Hockey and basket-ball were the subjects of discussion among the men students when the Camrose teams visited us and the honors were about evenly divided. In both cases, the social sides of the events were well attended to, and these friendly contests ought surely to help to establish a Normal School tradition.*¹⁰³

There were numerous other manifestations of the drive to establish a normal school tradition. The alumni association of each normal school was one such manifestation. The existence of the organization was cause for satisfaction among normal school administrators. On an alumni association reunion, G.K. Haverstock mused on *...the social benefits derived from such a gathering....*¹⁰⁴ As noted, administration support for a longer period of teacher training partly reflected the benefits to be derived from the establishment of a tradition. E.W. Coffin wrote

Another outcome of the eight months' course worth

¹⁰³ NSAR, 1920, p.52.

¹⁰⁴ NSAR, 1931, p.29.

mentioning is the fuller opportunity it gives the students to...become more firmly attached to the School as a vital feature in their education. Thus the students of the first long course have formed, without any suggestion on the part of the Staff, the nucleus of an Alumni Association, and while they may not enlist a great number of the twenty-five hundred or more students of former years, who can scarcely remember their Normal Course as more than a brief incident, and the whereabouts of many of whom cannot be easily ascertained, yet among the successive classes of the yearly courses, the new venture will take ready hold and grow. The old building, despite its Alpine stairways and restricted grounds, is already, in its last days in our hands, beginning to be a centre of almost affectionate regard in the memories of those who explore its heights and depths day by day throughout eight months. This makes us look forward to still better things in a new building with larger gymnasium and more spacious grounds.¹⁰⁵

Indeed, reflecting on the impact of the new facilities some years later, Coffin, certainly pleased, commented

*The Normal School is coming, also, more and more, to fill an indelible place in the student's memory, to be something more than an incident. A slight indication of this is the fact that two reunion socials were held at the school by former students, most of them of recent years.... With our present enlarged facilities we may expect a still further development of this Alma Mater spirit towards the school.*¹⁰⁶

Comments such as these suggest that the longer training period, and new building did not emerge merely to address academic considerations. The extended training period did not simply reflect a need for increased time to spend on the teaching of subject and professional matters; rather, it was an effort to enhance the effectiveness of the institution as a factor in establishing connectedness, in constructing normalite identity.

The very real presence of normalite alumni can be explored by examining the energetic activities of the

¹⁰⁵ NSAR, 1920, p.52.

¹⁰⁶ NSAR, 1922, p.42.

Camrose Normal School Alumni Association (CNSAA). The CNSAA itself was formed 1929.¹⁰⁷ However, the spirit which culminated in its creation was present long before, as is evidenced by earlier reunions and other similar events. In 1917 the *Camrose Canadian* reported that

*The second annual reunion of the graduates of the Camrose Normal school took place at the Empire Hotel in Calgary.... About 200 teachers were present. Mr. Ross addressed the students on Rural Life and spoke very highly of the work of the graduates. The students will be asked to elect a delegate before the close of the session.*¹⁰⁸

Graduates were also involved in other fashions. Some purchased the normal school yearbook, to whom, one editor wrote, *we owe a debt of gratitude, and in token of our appreciation we have included a Graduate Section in our Book.*¹⁰⁹ In that section the writer predicted that

*As you look at the pictures and read the various articles, many of your thoughts go back to the many pleasant hours spent at the C.N.S. From these memories may the old C.N.S. spirit of comradeship revive, and unite again all ex-students of the school.*¹¹⁰

An excerpt from the *Camrose Canadian* illustrates a further graduate presence.

At the gym on Saturday morning a very fine exhibition of basketball was witnessed, when the school team met a number of ex-Normalites. A very fast and exciting game was played and basketball was seen at its best. The ex-Normalite team consisted of such seasoned players as T. Shandro, N.

¹⁰⁷ NSAR, 1930, p.27.

¹⁰⁸ CC, April 19, 1917. Ross was the Deputy Minister of Education. Apparently, the association met regularly until 1920, when, for some unknown reason, it stopped. CmNSYB, 1931-32, p.3. NSF, PAA 84.484-2. Given that the event was not held in Camrose, its efficacy as a micro-technology of unity was probably limited.

¹⁰⁹ CmNSYB, 1929-30, p.3. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

¹¹⁰ CmNSYB, 1929-30, p.45. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

*Shandro, D. Freeze, R. Poohkay and H. Warbess.... The Normal lineup follows: A. Boutillier, N. Ray, L. Garnier, E. Taschuk, M. Allen and R. Stonehocker.*¹¹¹

Having to play against, and compare favourably with, some of the best of the graduates certainly encouraged normalites to perform most fully. The alumni were a tangible example of what they had to live up to.

Once the CNSAA was formed, the activities of graduates were more regular and pronounced, as was indicated by G.K. Haverstock's comment that *Our graduates continue to show a loyal attitude and a keen interest in the work of the school.*¹¹² Reunions quickly became annual events. The yearbook of 1931-32 gave an account of one such festivity.

Camrose Normal School Alumni Notes - The Reunion

Of December 30, 1931, C.N.S. graduates will think of nothing but pleasure. Old friendships were renewed and new ones created; old places were visited and old times recalled.

Festivities started with a theatre party in the Bailey Theatre. Members and friends then gathered at the Alice Hotel, where spirits were made lighter, if possible, by rousing community singing, by tempting dishes, and by humorous accounts of older days. Mr. McNally, in his usual congenial manner, told of early days at the Normal School. Mr. Ainlay convinced of us of the merits of the Class of '18 and representatives from other years also made their presence known.

The business included the adoption of the Constitution, and the election of a committee to be responsible for the management of the Memorial Fund.

During the dance at the Normal School, the nominating committee presented its proposed slate of officers for approval. As a result of the election which followed, the Executive consists of....

The Memorial Fund started a drive during the evening. The splendid response given testifies to the spirit prevailing among members of the C.N.S.A.A.

The registration list of those present for the

¹¹¹ CC, November 8, 1928.

¹¹² NSAR, 1923, p.29.

reunion is as follows....¹¹³

The Memorial Fund also served to strengthen the normal continuum. It *commemorate[d] the work of the late Messers. Scott, Stickle and Torrie*, and, when first implemented, was *given most generous support*.¹¹⁴ The structured events did not discourage graduates from participating in more spontaneous, less grand celebrations. *Friday last witnessed another jolly party on Normal hill. There were many visitors, graduates from Camrose Normal as long ago as 1928, and for each of the years since*.¹¹⁵

Guardians of a teacher training tradition, efforts were also exerted within the institution to influence the actions of future normalites. Trophies and awards, tangible reminders of past activities, were characterized by their visibility, and gave voice to generations' past. The most pronounced effort was to be found in the class gift to the normal school, a tradition inspired by the staff. G.S. Lord reveals the genesis of the practice, at the Edmonton Normal School, the institution where the tradition flourished. *Under the direction of Mr. Hedley and the Art Club, the class of 1929-30 presented two very fine oil paintings to the Normal School. Each is the work of a Canadian artist - A Bright Day, Glouscter, by Gordon E. Payne, of the Ontario School of Art, and The Coast, by Miss Bessie E. Frey, the B.C. artist is charge last summer of the special art class of our summer school. These pictures are very greatly appreciated, and no doubt will inspire other classes to establish permanent memorials*.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ There were 221 registered. CmNSYB, 1931-32, p.47. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

¹¹⁴ NSAR, 1932, pp.29-30. See p.218 for more information on the Memorial Fund.

¹¹⁵ CC, October 5, 1932.

¹¹⁶ NSAR, 1930, p.31.

The normalite's perspective was provided in the yearbook by Alex MacGregor. He outlined the creation of the Art Club, named its executive membership, and continued,

The purpose of the entire Art Club was to raise sufficient funds to purchase a specimen of Canadian Art and present it to the Edmonton Normal School from the Class of 1929-30. By means of a lecture on Art by Dr. R.B. Wells, a skating party, and the selling of Christmas cards, our aim was accomplished. Two fine pictures...approved by the Student's Union, now adorn the rotunda of the school.

On the whole, the scheme was a complete success. The entire school co-operated to support this organization, making Mr. Hedley's plan an admirable reality. It is to be hoped that the Art Club will remain a permanent feature of the Edmonton Normal School and in future prove its worth to be as great if not greater than that of the present year.¹¹⁷

MacGregor's hope was fulfilled, for it was determined to be a tradition which staff and normalites deemed worthy of maintaining.

THE CLASS GIFT

Following the precedent of former years, the Class of '37-'38 decided to present a memento to the school. Under the direction of Mr. Dunlop, a committee consisting of Muriel McRae, Evelyn Peers, Sybil Deane, Lawrence Oszust, and Gordon Huggnson, was appointed by the executive to secure funds and purchase a suitable gift.... We were fortunate in securing two beautiful pictures.... They are of exceptionally fine workmanship, and, we hope, a worthy reminder of the class.¹¹⁸

Indeed, the staff was so pleased with the practice that they, too, acted in a like manner to strengthen the unifying bonds of tradition. *In honour of its first graduating class, the very loyal class of 1929, the staff presented a picture by A. Cartmell called "A Song of Spring."¹¹⁹* Such reminders ensured that new normalites would

¹¹⁷ ENSYB, 1929-30, p.34. NSF, PAA 84.484-3.

¹¹⁸ ENSYB, 1937-38, p.50. Private Collection.

¹¹⁹ NSAR, 1938, p.28.

be aware of the tradition of which they had become part. The custom provided a unity which demanded responsibility and proper action. This attitude required a willingness to strive to achieve standards reached by previous classes of normalites. The technology of unity thus acted to ensure that the normalite would anxiously participate in a identity reconstruction promoted by/within the institution. Successfully integrated, the normalite's position within the institution became a significant part of his or her identity; indeed, it became a powerful force in the reconstruction of that identity.

MODELLING

Modelling, or the demonstration by normal school staff of appropriate elements of the inventory of a teacher, was an integral facet of the normal experience. It is the technology of investiture examined in this study which most directly suggests those elements of the teacher inventory promoted within the institution. Generally, the elements modelled were attitudes and behaviours, rather than specific skills or content knowledges.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ Of course, this was not the case with the practice schools, of which at least one was associated with each normal school (though it was administratively separate, with its own principal and run by the local school board), and staffed with highly skilled and respected teachers. Miss Canham, at the Camrose Practice School, for example, was described by A.E. Torrie as a *teacher of splendid qualities and experience*.... The role of practice school teachers was twofold: they demonstrated models of teaching excellence to normalites (who observed them teaching grade school students); and they acted as critics of normalites' practice teaching. What did they model? The answer may be found in Clara Lois Tyner's (Teacher, Grade III, Practice School) illuminating poem, *Characteristics of Criticisms*.

No one will need to be of perspacity [sic]

Modelling was recognized in the normal school as an important component of teacher training.¹²¹ This was

*To note how certain words recur with regularity.
Voice, pleasing, well pitched, distinct and of clarity,
Amiable, agreeable or forceful personality;
Manner animated, of sympathetic capability,
Resulting in a self-control and character stability;
Plan of neatness, good detail, logic and variety,
Presentation and questioning of utmost propriety;
Devices then, and drill of superiority,
Perhaps an "E" or "G" sans complex inferiority.*

E.W. Coffin praised the efforts of practice school teachers: *[They] continue to do good service in the cause of teacher training....we have had nothing but the most willing co-operation, and, in most cases, the most helpful counsel to student teachers. Normalites also recognized the practice school staff as important, as demonstrated by yearbook contributor A.P.P.: [Practice teaching is] one of the most important aspects of our training as teachers.... we should like to express our appreciation to these [practice school] teachers to whom we are indebted for many helpful criticisms. We are indeed grateful for all the help they have given us in our teacher training course.*

See ENSYB 1937-38, pp.10-11. Private Collection; Edmonton Public Schools - Normal Practice School Memo. NSF, PAA 78.92-1; NSAR, 1926, p.25; ENSYB 1936-37, p.7. NSF, PAA 84.484-3; ENSYB, 1929-30, p.25. NSF, PAA 84.484-3; NSAR, 1920, p.54; CgNSYB, 1936-37, p.42. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

¹²¹ Its importance was also reflected in the fact that normal administration consistently brought in high ranking members of the Department of Education, and other citizens, who might exercise an appropriate formative influence on the normalites. Thus, visits by the Minister of Education, and his Deputy Minister were common. See, for examples, NSAR, 1914, p.33; 1917, p.24; and 1930, p.28. See also CC, January 22, 1920; and June 9, 1937. E.W. Coffin wrote, *We would welcome more frequent visits from officials of the Department and also from Inspectors.* NSAR, 1920, p.54. Thus when normalites at the Calgary Normal School approached G.F. McNally, the Deputy Minister of Education, to attend graduation ceremonies, Coffin was quite enthusiastic. He wrote to McNally, *This is somewhat of a new departure and is in the hands of the Students' Association. I do not know if it will be a fixture for years to come, but I did not feel like discouraging them this year....* The action of the Student Association represented a success for the

particularly so given the youth and inexperience of many normalites, which combined to result in a *condition [which] makes it very desirable that a close contact be maintained between the students and the staff....*¹²² Modelling was perceived as especially valuable for instructing normalites in the non-academic aspects of teaching. *Training received in this way by our students is of material benefit to them as teachers.*¹²³ As E.W. Coffin explained, the normal school provided

*opportunities and facilities for training, physical, professional, social and civic, such as will serve to make our young men and women still more intelligent in their approach to their community problems and more vigorous and successful as factors in the life of their districts.*¹²⁴

Teachers were to be active agents in the community's of their schools.

The models presented by normal instructors emerge from two often harmonious sources.¹²⁵ Certain images were displayed in normal school reports. It is likely that these

technology of modelling: normalites desired to engage in it. Letter from Coffin to McNally, May 29, 1937. NSF, PAA 78.92-2.

¹²² NSAR, 1926, p.24.

¹²³ NSAR, 1931, p.33.

¹²⁴ NSAR, 1921, p.40.

¹²⁵ It is perhaps also worth noting that had this study explored the academic content of the normal school curriculum, some consideration would have been given to the relationship between modelling and the course on the history of education. It was a course which presented desirable model educators from the past. My research suggests, however, that normalites were little concerned with the subject, a disinterest which may have reflected the fact that it was often taught by the normal school principal: normalite silence may have simply indicated a desire not to offend him.

presentations were the ideal. Indeed, their presence in the annual reports generally reflects the principal's desire to bestow praise on the individuals so identified. However, images of normal staff also emerged in normal school yearbooks. Occasionally entries were written by staff members, particularly the principal, and in these circumstances the images reflect the understandings, and promotions of the authorities. However, the yearbook also, and more importantly, allows the normalites' understanding of the inventory to emerge candidly. While some of the functions of the yearbook (the kindling of fond memories, satire) act as obstacles to frank assessments on the character of instructors, it reflects the normalites' voice, and is best examined as such.

While various characteristics and attitudes were modelled, three emerge as prominent from the perspective of normal administration. The teacher was first and foremost a servant of both students and the broader community. In all activities, the teacher was to be efficient and enthusiastic. Finally, enhancing the teacher's ability to serve was an approach which emphasized cooperation. Normalites unquestionably recognized their instructor's efforts to serve the normal school community in non-academic fashions, just as they appreciated the need for efficiency, and, to a lesser degree, cooperation.¹²⁶

¹²⁶ Beyond these two attributes, the image of the teacher which the normalite perceived did not necessarily harmonize with the figure the staff believed they were projecting. Even cooperation was tempered by an image of the instructor as an authority figure who did not need to cooperate. The instructor was a disciplined individual, acting out of a personal commitment to what he or she considered (knew) to be right; action was predicated on that consideration. Normalites were also most impressed by the instructor's demeanour, his or her ability to win students over through the force of personality. These

Service and Sacrifice

The service imperative was the most vivid teacher characteristic modelled in the normal school. Indeed, the honour of serving was, from the perspective of G.K. Haverstock, one of the primary inducements to become a teacher. He queried

*...what inducement shall be offered the prospective teacher who is to prepare tomorrow's children for citizenship in the greater nation of tomorrow? There are two great inducements - the privilege of service and reasonable opportunity to enjoy the things that go with economic independence. The privilege of service is a great appeal. It is a dominating influence in the lives of the best teachers.*¹²⁷

At the opening of the Edmonton Normal School, it was reported that G.S. Lord charged the teachers to go forth as crusaders, putting much enthusiasm in their work and giving great service.¹²⁸

These comments reflected an attitude which held that education was to serve the needs of society. It was a perspective which emerged clearly in G.F. McNally's words of advice on graduate studies to G.K. Haverstock.

*You have, in addition to these men, Clark, Counts, Rugg, and McGaughy, all of whom are Radicals believing that the schools should remake the social order, etc. etc. That would be interesting but I question whether what you would get would be very valuable and it certainly would have to be taken with a grain of salt.*¹²⁹

fractures in the image of the teacher are a matter for the critique of institutional power in the next chapter.

¹²⁷ CmNSYB, 1931-32, p.3. NSF, PAA, 84.484-2.

¹²⁸ EB, January 4, 1930.

¹²⁹ Supervisor of Schools to G.K. Haverstock, May 2, 1934. NSF, PAA, 78.92-1. Haverstock was seeking guidance from McNally on the subject of graduate studies at Columbia University. It is interesting that McNally's comments come

The message was clear: teachers (and schools) were to maintain the existing social order. Elaborating on the instructors he had recommended as appropriate mentors, McNally concluded, *It does not make so very much difference as to what these people are lecturing about; the main thing is coming in contact with the men themselves.* It was what these people were, rather than a limited encounter with what they knew, which was important. The emphasis on modelling in normal school thus emerges as predictable.

The instructor as servant emerged in various fashions. Foremost was his or her efforts in the realm of the normalites' extracurricular activities. As G.K. Haverstock explained,

*In addition to providing wholesome, harmless enjoyment, this type of work trains in leadership and gives the student training in community activities which should be given careful attention by all teachers.*¹³⁰

W.H. Swift, Principal of the Calgary Normal School, held that *the extent of extra-curricular activities is of concern to the total program of the school.*¹³¹ While extracurricular functions have previously been commented upon, some further examples which highlight the service imperative are desirable.

Remarking on extracurricular activities at the Camrose Normal School, Principal A.E. Torrie noted that *Associated in the management of these sports were members of the staff who gave freely of their time and energy in rendering these*

on the eve of the introduction of enterprise education, a program presumably designed to reshape society.

¹³⁰ NSAR, 1933, p.29.

¹³¹ W.H. Swift to H.C. Newland (Supervisor of Schools), November 29, 1940. NSF, PAA 78.92-1.

activities of greatest value.¹³² This was a common theme in the normal schools. Instructors were continually being recognized for their non-academic, but evidently equally valuable, activities. When Mr. Parker, Assistant in Manual Arts, resigned from the Calgary Normal School, he was thanked by the principal for his *untiring...attention to the needs of pupils and students.*¹³³ The loss of long serving members of education in Alberta drew similar praise. For over twenty-five years Madame Ellis-Brown and J.E. Loucks had *given generously of their service far beyond the strict requirements of any mere contract....*¹³⁴ It was said of H.B. Trout that *His service, like his character, was of sterling quality.*¹³⁵ Of D.R. McKerricher, it was noted that *His faithful and genial service...will most assuredly be missed by his colleagues.*¹³⁶

An interesting example of the lengths to which instructors went in assistance of normalites emerges in the case of I.H. Graham. In addition to his duties as music instructor at the Calgary Normal School, *Dr. Coffin asked...[him] to organize a Dance and Concert Orchestra.* In a letter to the Supervisor of Schools, Graham continued, *I was very busy doing this by practicing very nearly every night in an endeavour to get the students into shape, when the students asked me to form a Glee Club and put on a concert to make some money for Miss Chittick to use in helping students to pay for operations etc. I spoke to Dr. Coffin about the matter, and he wanted me to go along with it. After this I found myself quite busy with two orchestras and the Glee Club.... I suggested we go down to*

¹³² NSAR, 1924, p.43.

¹³³ NSAR, 1917, p.23.

¹³⁴ NSAR, 1936, p.29.

¹³⁵ NSAR, 1939, p.30.

¹³⁶ NSAR, 1939, p.30.

the CJCJ Broadcasting Station to see if our work was suitable for broadcast.

The quality was high enough for the broadcast, but illness prevented Graham from conducting. Because of his fears he might further exhaust himself, Graham discontinued the Glee Club. He considered the two orchestras and his regular work to be quite sufficient.¹³⁷

The service imperative of the instructors, and indeed, the normal school, transcended efforts to aid normalites. G.F. McNally, Principal of the newly opened Camrose Normal School, noted that *It has been the policy of the management of the school throughout the year to make the Normal School serve the community in which it is located in every way possible.*¹³⁸ Thus, for example, events not necessarily related to teacher training were held in the institution, including programs performed by normalites for public consumption (talent shows, plays).¹³⁹ The normal school was also used for various public addresses and sporting events in which the normalites did not participate.¹⁴⁰

The influenza epidemic which came on the heels of the First World War proved to be an invaluable opportunity for instructors to demonstrate a service ethic. In Calgary, the epidemic had caused the Practice School to open later in the term than usual; even then, attendance was irregular, thus limiting its effectiveness for teacher training. Arrangements had therefore been made with the Calgary

¹³⁷ Irvine H. Graham to H.C. Newland, June 4, 1937. NSF, PAA 78.92-2.

¹³⁸ NSAR, 1916, p.31.

¹³⁹ CC, November 27, 1919; April 6, 1922; and February 7, 1924.

¹⁴⁰ CC, April 18, 1918; February 12, 1920; December 6, 1923; and January 31, 1929.

School Board to use some of their schools for practice teaching, but that avenue was also thwarted by the closure of the schools due to the epidemic. E.W. Coffin details the solution:

*We were thus forced to increase the burden of our own practice staff by dividing classes, a measure which of course called for more strenuous effort on the part of all engaged in the criticism of lessons. This increased service, I need hardly say, was given most cheerfully, although frequently interfered with by illness. It is also to remembered that several of our teachers had volunteered their services as nursing assistants during the height of the epidemic and had thus got no rest or chance to fortify themselves for extra duties on reopening of schools. The whole situation has demonstrated the inestimable value that a teacher may be in a community, and her right to greater encouragement and recognition on the part of the public.*¹⁴¹

Occasionally service to the community was manifest in less practical, but no less important, ways. G.K. Haverstock emphasized the teacher's role in inculcating citizenship.

*If we believe that the teacher stands at the very heart of the whole scheme of education, that his sound educational practice will exercise a controlling influence upon the youth of the nation and the foundations of good citizenship, and that the best is none too good for the nation's children, then we ask, what inducement shall be offered the prospective teacher - the teacher who is to prepare today's children for citizenship in the greater nation of tomorrow.*¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ NSAR, 1918, p.25. The type of service which projected an image of the teacher who placed his or her needs second, was also of material benefit to the profession, and was favourably commented upon. When G.J. Bryan, Principal of the Calgary Normal School resigned, it was said that he had given the schools a wise organization and conducted them with high ideals and fidelity to their best interests and the highest welfare of the profession.... NSAR, 1909, p.40.

¹⁴² CmNSYB, 1931-32, p.3. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

Striking a warning to teachers, and to the wider society, G.S. Lord also wrote of the weighty societal responsibility placed on the shoulders of teachers.

*There is danger that with increasing specialization in industry, man may become narrow and shallow in his intellectual pursuits and increasingly selfish in his social ethics. There is some danger that he may not replace authoritarianism in morals by any authority at all. The school must see to it that technical progress attendant on great inventions does not outrun our social-intellectual progress. That is the challenge.*¹⁴³

It was a challenge to be met by the teacher who stood fast in the service of his or her community.

Normal administrators emphasized other manifestations of the service ideal within the normal school. Receiving particularly glowing praise were military exemplars, particularly normalites who had chosen to enlist, and those normalites who were ex-servicemen. G.F. McNally suggests the value of and respect for normalites who went overseas during the First World War:

*Camrose Men Overseas. - Over 70 men of the 209 who have left this institution are now in the service of the King, most of them in France. One, Pte. R.W. Bradley, of the 50th Battalion, Fall term, 1913, has been missing since November 18th, though hopes are still held out that he may be prisoner in Germany. Many others have been wounded, but none so far have been discharged as unfit for further service. This group of men contains many of the choicest spirits that any land can produce. The institution is justly proud of the magnificent response of its men and trusts to keep their splendid examples as its guiding star in the path of public service.*¹⁴⁴

At the end of the war, McNally proudly revealed that The Alumni Association is erecting a bronze tablet in the normal school in the memory of these men, whose sacrifice

¹⁴³ ENSYB, 1936-37, p.11. NSF, PAA 72.298-2.

¹⁴⁴ NSAR, 1916, p.37.

*should be an inspiration to every graduate of the school.*¹⁴⁵ E.W. Coffin related how one individual withdrew before the end of the teacher training course ...to answer the call to military service. He was, however, recommended for his interim certificate....¹⁴⁶ A year later, the war over, Coffin sent out a call for ex-servicemen to pursue another weighty cause: teaching.

*A gratifying feature of the year is the gradual return of our overseas heroes. During the first session we had three veterans; during the second...no less than nine enlisted men.... We only hope that they will find real tangible encouragement to continue in educational work.*¹⁴⁷

In fact, veterans were offered special incentives to attend normal school. A 1924 order-in-council exempted veterans, and children of veterans who had died while in service, from paying tuition fees.¹⁴⁸ Considering that the ideal of sacrifice was best personified in the returned soldier, or

¹⁴⁵ NSAR, 1919, p.45. McNally was referring to seventeen normalites who had lost their lives overseas. R.W. Bradley, apparently, lived.

¹⁴⁶ NSAR, 1918, p.25. This was indeed a rarity, as the Department of Education was firmly opposed to any exceptions.

¹⁴⁷ NSAR, 1919, p.38.

¹⁴⁸ See, for example, the case of Keith Horwood, a returned soldier who was refunded his tuition when it was discovered he was an ex-serviceman. Letters from Deputy Minister to E.W. Coffin, February 28, 1933 and Coffin to the Deputy Minister, March 4, 1933. PAA, NSF, 78.92-2. The children of servicemen killed while in overseas action were also exempted from tuition fees as a result of this order-in-council. List (Dated October?) 1934. PAA, NSF, 78.92-2; and also memo dated December 15, 1932, NSF, PAA, 78.92-1. Interestingly, one student, Winnifred Twissell, was denied the exemption because her father, although a serviceman, died before his regiment departed for overseas service. Letters from E.W. Coffin to J.T. Ross, September 12, 1932, and J.T. Ross to E.W. Coffin, September 15, 1932. PAA, NSF, 78.92-2.

the child of one who had died while serving his country, this is not surprising.

Normalites clearly recognized, and appreciated, the service mentality in their instructors, and the sacrifices this entailed. For example, the efforts of A.E. Hutton, instructor at the Calgary Normal School, were often praised by normalites. Describing his function as President of the Calgary Normal School Basketball Association of 1929, Hutton was reported to have

*handled practically all of the business of the association this year...and devoted constant time and effort to its welfare. In all matters his work has been outstandingly characterized by its efficiency, accuracy and speed.*¹⁴⁹

Some few years later, it was said of him that *His enthusiasm and exuberance of spirits will ever keep him young.*¹⁵⁰ Normalites at Edmonton were equally grateful for the labours of H.G. Turner.

*We were fortunate in having Mr. H.G. Turner as our Music Instructor this year. Outside his regular duties, Mr. Turner took an active interest in the Glee Club, the Orchestra, and the music for the Student Union programs.*¹⁵¹

In a lighter vein, the Normal Dictionary of the Camrose Normal School defined instructor as *a martyr sacrificed on the shrine of the Normalites' ignorance.*¹⁵²

From the normalites' perspective, service and sacrifice were among the most important components of the teacher inventory. They were aware of the reasons for the desirability of service beyond the confines of the classroom; cognizant of the fact that that limited space

¹⁴⁹ CgNSYB, 1929-30, p.24. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

¹⁵⁰ CgNSYB, 1932-33, p.9. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

¹⁵¹ ENSYB, 1936-37, p.68. NSF, PAA 72.298-2.

¹⁵² CmNSYB, 1929-30, p.41. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

was not the only effective educational environment, as the Student Union representative for the Edmonton Normal School indicated.

*The last two periods on Friday afternoon are set aside for Students' Union meetings. Giving these such an important part in the weekly time-table shows that there must be something of value attached to them. Their value is indeed educational - training students in the forms of business in public meetings, giving them experience in handling responsible positions, and guiding their activities in ways which will be useful to students as teachers.*¹⁵³

Beyond such practical considerations, normalites also recognized that the teacher's interest was not merely the three "R's" of traditional schooling. An editor of the Calgary Normal School yearbook wrote,

*As teachers we should prepare children so that they will not become a nuisance to themselves and to the community when they attain maturity. This can be brought about only be education. Education, however, does not mean mere learning of reading, writing and arithmetic. These are very essential, but what is more essential is that the children learn those principles of life which will stand them in good stead when all memory of scholastic attainments has gone.*¹⁵⁴

An effective education transcended memory and unreflectingly became part of what the individual was/did.

Thus, the teacher's responsibility to the community went beyond academic learning. A similar sentiment was voiced by Katusha C. Pipella, representative of the second term Student Council, at the Edmonton Normal School.

The responsibility of teacher is tremendous. There is no other profession to which so great an extent determines the character of the nation, for the boys and girls of today are the men and women of tomorrow. Whether those under our care will be strong mentally and clean morally is determined by the efficacy of our instruction. Let us, therefore, take our profession seriously; let us face our

¹⁵³ ENSYB, 1929-30, p.52. NSF, PAA 84.484-3.

¹⁵⁴ CgNSYB, 1932-33, p.5. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

*responsibility courageously....*¹⁵⁵

As Orest Zarsky, President of the first term Student Council, at the Edmonton Normal School noted:

*Many use teaching as a stepping stone to "higher" and more lucrative fields. Our instructors endeavour to correct this idea and teach us that there is no calling higher than that which we represent, and as the term draws on, we are beginning to realize that they are right.*¹⁵⁶

The broader responsibility of the teacher to student development beyond the academic, and ultimately his or her obligation to the community, came to permeate the understanding of many a normalite's conception of teaching. Elsie Carson, Class 1A, outlined her opinion as to the noble task of the normalite.

*As teachers we will have a wonderful opportunity to give to the world the best we have. In our hands will be placed the guiding and directing of little children. Our task will be to prepare them, in some measure, to meet the world which lies before them.... The best will truly come back to us, if we see, in the future, boys and girls grown up to be honest citizens.*¹⁵⁷

Perhaps the most lucid statement of teacher service, and the sacrifice it might well entail, came from Marjorie Ticknor, Class 1A.

Wanted - A Teacher

*Wanted - a teacher for Sarcee Butte School,
Who knows and obeys the Golden Rule,
With an honest word that none can doubt,
Who will think of the little one's round about.
A Girl who sets a model good*

¹⁵⁵ ENSYB, 1937-38, p.17. Private Collection.

¹⁵⁶ ENSYB, 1936-37, p.27. NSF, PAA 72.298-2. For further information on this issue, see footnote 72 (in this chapter) and the last footnote of Chapter Eight, which cites a survey suggesting that many normalites indeed used teacher training as a stepping stone.

¹⁵⁷ CmNSYB, 1929-30, p.32. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

*For the children will copy, as well they should.
 She must have a heart, and a brain to plan
 With a will to do the best she can.
 No matter if skies be blue or gray
 Her work comes first and then her pay.
 Such a girl will always so play her part,
 In lonely outpost or city's heart
 That out of its clamour and din and whirl,
 The world will pay tribute to such a girl.*¹⁵⁸

Ticknor had well assimilated the lesson of modelling. Not only had she gleaned the message of the instructor's modelling, she had also assimilated it as a technology to educate her future students. And, if the reflections of A.E. Torrie were accurate, so had most normalites.

*The young men and women are going out from our Normal school with complete standing are, with comparatively few exceptions, imbued with an earnest desire to do real service in their respective schools and communities.*¹⁵⁹

Efficiency and Enthusiasm

In their service, as in all other matters of education, teachers were to be efficient and enthusiastic. The Camrose Normal School, in 1913-14, had two consecutive principals; both were suitably impressed with the efficiency of the staff. J.C. Miller, Acting Principal, wrote that

Special acknowledgement is due the staff of the Normal and Practice School for the splendid way in which they have entered into their work and maintained the standards of efficiency already established for this school.

Similarly, in describing the efforts of various members of the Camrose Practice School staff, his successor G.F. McNally, lauded *These teachers [who] have taken up their*

¹⁵⁸ CmNSYB, 1929-30, p.33. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

¹⁵⁹ NSAR, 1927, p.24.

work with enthusiasm and have rendered efficient service.¹⁶⁰
 The proficiency of the instructors of the Camrose Normal School was visible even to the citizens of the town, where the headlines of the *Camrose Canadian* glared *EFFICIENT STAFF AT CAMROSE NORMAL SCHOOL*.¹⁶¹

Efficiency was a characteristic shared by the instructors of the other normal schools. E.W. Coffin applauded the efforts of two individuals who departed from the institution in 1927.

*...Miss Mary Simons, Instructor in Junior Mathematics and Spelling, resigned, after eleven years of very efficient service on the Practice and Normal School staffs. [The work of] Miss Christiana W. Dyde...as Instructor in English was of a high quality, and her energy and good-will was at all times of the best.*¹⁶²

And, when normal instructors resigned to join the war effort in the early 1940's, it was confidently said of them that *in their new work [they] will make distinct contributions to the efficiency of our armed forces*.¹⁶³

The entire normal school experience was, from the perspective of normal school administrators, characterized by the drive to efficiency. The time-table, that regulator of institutional life, the anchor of efficiency, set the tone, by determining what could or could not be done.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰ NSAR, 1914, pp.35, 37.

¹⁶¹ CC, August 28, 1913.

¹⁶² NSAR, 1927, p.21.

¹⁶³ NSAR, 1941, pp.37-8.

¹⁶⁴ E.W. Coffin wrote, *The Practice School grades have gotten into the habit of expecting the use of some of the facilities of the building not usually furnished in the city schools, and not called for in the contract, and while we are only too glad to make provision for this as we can, the time-table does not always permit it.* NSAR, 1922, p.43.

Matters of efficiency spilled into various non-academic aspects of normal school life, informing other institutional decisions. For example, in organizing the facilities (playground, rink, gardens) surrounding the newly constructed Camrose Normal School, it was noted that *...the policy of the school authorities and the Department of Public Works has been to make the grounds serve their purpose in the most efficient manner possible.*¹⁶⁵

Caretakers were often complimented for their proficient efforts. A.E. Torrie wrote that *The caretaking staff is efficient, painstaking, proud of the splendid condition of the building and grounds, and uniformly obliging.*¹⁶⁶ D.A. McKerricher, instructor at the Calgary Normal School, composed biographies for the staff and support staff for the 1930-31 yearbook. He suggested that *Miss Giles, the secretary, is as efficient as ever. She keeps the staff and the office records in good order, and, in general, keeps the machinery in good working order.*¹⁶⁷ Efficiency even participated in the sporting world, as was apparent when E.W. Coffin, noted that *Under Sgt.-Major O'Hanlon's efficient coaching, the men's team again secured the provincial trophy for the Intermediate League.*¹⁶⁸ Efficiency produced desirable results. A positive statement on one's efficiency was high praise, indeed.

The importance of the ethos of efficiency may be further measured by a glimpse at the business community

¹⁶⁵ NSAR, 1916, p.21.

¹⁶⁶ NSAR, 1925, p.49.

¹⁶⁷ CgNSYB, 1930-31, p.11. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

¹⁶⁸ NSAR, 1927, p.23.

which financially supported the yearbook [see Figure 1].¹⁶⁹

EFFICIENCY!

What a wealth of meaning is wrapped up in the word
EFFICIENCY.

A Student goes forth from Normal School thoroughly well
equipped, academically speaking, to take charge of his or her first
school and finds that, no matter how qualified he or she may be,
the best results cannot be obtained unless other important influences
are co-operating all along the line.

Amongst the most necessary and important items leading to-
wards efficiency are the Equipment and Supplies without which no
pupils can make happy and satisfactory progress.

The E. N. MOYER'S Catalog is your best guide as to what
Equipment, Supplies and Teachers' Aids you should have in your
school. A copy is free upon request. Let us help you. Real co-
operation with Teachers and Trustees is our sincere aim.

E. N. MOYER COMPANY LTD.

10187-104th Street

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

"CANADA'S SCHOOL FURNISHINGS and SUPPLIES"

FIGURE 1

Even advertisers recognized it as a powerful selling tool when dealing with normalites.

Normalites were aware of the efficiency imperative. It was not uncommon for them to characterize normal instructors in such terms. J.M. Scott, was described as one *in whom efficiency is personified*.¹⁷⁰ Ida Giles, the secretary, was similarly illustrated. *Under her efficient rule the business of our institution runs smoothly and correctly*.¹⁷¹ In its acknowledgements, the first term

¹⁶⁹ CmNSYB, 1929-30, p.84. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

¹⁷⁰ CgNSYB, 1932-33, p.10. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

¹⁷¹ CgNSYB, 1929-30, pp.9, 11. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

Student Council at the Calgary Normal School proclaimed that they must not

*...forget the help and guidance which was given by members of the Staff, especially that of Mr. Loucks who acted as Staff Representative and greatly increased the efficiency of the Council.*¹⁷²

Ultimately, efficiency appears to have been the lesson learned. Normalite Marion Robb was supportive of the effects of efficiency rendered by the normal school. She wrote,

*The Normal as a vocational School provides a thorough training in all phases of the new life into which the teacher will enter. Not only are students given a thorough knowledge of the subject matter, that they may well be qualified to teach it to others, but they are given practical suggestions as to school management and the maintenance of discipline, they are trained that they may perform the business side of their work competently, they receive much valuable information as to possible sources of material, books, magazines and papers - all the tools by which they may become more efficient....*¹⁷³

Dolly B. Slemph, Camrose Normal School valedictorian, wrote, *From our books we have learned much. But we have learned other things that cannot be found in books - how to study, when to study and what to study. We have trained our minds so that we work while we work, and play while we play.*¹⁷⁴

Propensity to waste was erased by normal school training.

Cooperation

The efficiency of the normal school was enhanced by the cooperation which characterized the actions of the staff. This relationship emerged in the observations of

¹⁷² CgNSYB, 1930-31, p.15. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

¹⁷³ From an article entitled *The Value of Normal as a Vocational School*. CgNSYB, 1930-31, p.79. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

¹⁷⁴ CmNSYB, 1929-30, p.35. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

W.A. Stickle, Principal of the Camrose Normal School. *The excellent spirit that pervaded both classes...and the co-operation of the Practice School teachers permitted maximum efficiency with minimum difficulty.*¹⁷⁵ In fact, such attitudes and practices of cooperation emerged as somewhat of a tradition at the normal schools. Efforts to promote cooperation were clearly present from the earliest days of teacher training. In 1913, J.C. Miller, Principal of the Camrose Normal School, wrote that *The spirit of comradeship and mutual helpfulness has characterized the life and work of both the students and the staff of both the Normal and the Practice School throughout the year.*¹⁷⁶ Commenting specifically on the recent changes in Practice School staff, G.K. Haverstock noted that *The fine spirit of co-operation and the willingness to assume responsibility are sufficient evidence that wise choice was made.*¹⁷⁷ E.W. Coffin contended that teaching, like life, was a *co-operative enterprise*. He explained to normalites, *And how have the contacts of the last few months affected us? Are we any better able to see from the other fellow's point of view, if not to take it and see from it? Have we learned anything from the art of team-work? Do we find ourselves more willing to listen to what the other has to say? Can we realize ourselves as neither suns nor satellites, but as fellow-orbs in a common system.*¹⁷⁸

Both the efficiency of the institution, and the social nature of existence (which the teacher was to promote) demanded cooperation.

¹⁷⁵ NSAR, 1921, p.42. The two classes to which he referred was that one which graduated in the spring of 1921, and the one which began in the fall of 1921.

¹⁷⁶ NSAR, 1913, p.38.

¹⁷⁷ NSAR, 1929, pp.27-8.

¹⁷⁸ CgNSYB, 1929-30, p.12. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

By and large, it appears, normalites also strove to be cooperative. W.A. Stickle thought so, and commented that *It is a great pleasure to report the fine spirit of co-operation, consideration and helpfulness that has pervaded the whole school. Members of both Normal and Practice School staffs have uniformly considered the good of the institution first, and the student body have emulated the spirit.*¹⁷⁹

Certainly normalites were aware of attitudes of cooperation in staff members, as was indicated, for example, in Emma Cissell's description of instructor G.F. Manning: *He stressed Mutual Obligation very strongly.*¹⁸⁰

Hugh J. McDonald, First Term President of the Calgary Normal School, congratulated normalites, whom the student council found willing to give their aid when required and to co-operate with the Executive without which co-operation the duties in its charge could hardly have been carried on.¹⁸¹ Vianne Joly's valedictory address for the Edmonton Normal School, was also a recognition of, and a call for, cooperation.

*One of the most effective means of progress in a school is an active and interested school body; one that will willingly co-operate with the Faculty and other such organizations that work for the general good. We can justly boast of having such success. This fact certainly reflects credit on the few who shared the responsibility of guidance. But if their energy and foresight of the leaders greatly contributed towards the success with which the various organizations have met, it must be remembered that such success reveals also the true spirit of co-operation with which the members of the student body have seconded the effort of those in charge.*¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ NSAR, 1922, p.47.

¹⁸⁰ CmNSYB, 1929-30, p.7. NSF, PAA 84.484-2. Cissell was from Class II, of the Camrose Normal School, 1929-30.

¹⁸¹ CgNSYB 1929-30, p.11. NSF, PAA 84.282-1.

¹⁸² ENSYB, 1929-30, p.11. NSF, PAA 84.484-3.

Again, but this time from a normalite's perspective, it emerges that the value of cooperation was largely in its impact on the efficient operation of the institution. If all worked together, the fruit would be success; disruption was destructive.

Ultimately, the tactics of deconstructive reconstruction sought to remove all disruptions. Investiture operated on an inmate who was exposed and vulnerable. It functioned to sharpen and direct desires. Each of the three technologies revolved around those ends. Awards cultivated appropriate behaviour, and correspondingly marginalized everything else. Unity between fellow normalite's enhanced individual responsibility. Whether one's efforts reflected on one's contemporaries, or past or future normalites, teachers in training were acutely aware of the impact of their actions on others. Adaption to institutional norms was promoted by the rapid crystallization of those norms into a tradition to uphold. Generally the proper behaviour was modelled by the instructors who determined the normalite's fate.¹⁸³ Thus, it was to the normalite's advantage to incorporate the instructor's behaviours and actions into his or her teacher inventory. The fact that the normalite who most conformed (to what was deemed suitable within the institution) was the inmate considered the best normalite cannot be overlooked.

¹⁸³ There were, however, avenues of appeal which a normalite could travel; some did, and these are matters for the subsequent critique of institutional power, to be found in Chapter Eight.

CONCLUSION¹⁸⁴

Thus was the successful operation of power within the normal school [See Photo 4, next page].¹⁸⁵ The alien and regulated environment of exposure proved to be the smithy where a new identity was hammered out. The normal school experience began with technologies which simultaneously separated and united normalites. In the intense and often heavy atmosphere of the institution, where normalites were observed with an essentially unrelenting gaze, carefully constructed desires were forged. These desires each pointed in a similar direction: the process was one of reducing multiplicities, of creating a teacher identity in harmony with the image promoted within the institution.

Let there be no doubt, identity reconstruction was, at heart, a violent process, articulately captured by the editor of the Calgary Normal School yearbook.

"Before I was an anvil; now I am a hammer."

*This ancient Arabian proverb seems to be particularly applicable to us normal students. After having been pounded for over a decade of our lives by various teachers and instructors we are at last ready to change our status. We are now hammers, ready to do our share in moulding juvenile brains.*¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ I would like to reiterate that this conclusion serves to address the application of the three tactics, and not just investiture.

¹⁸⁵ Camrose Normal School (staff, students and building), "A" Collection. Photographic Collections. A-14033. This is an appropriate photo with which to conclude my analysis of deconstructive reconstruction and the normal school, for it incorporates each of the three tactics: exposure (the administrative architecture: the prominence of normal school staff); dispersion (the external physicality: the central location of the building in the picture); and investiture (unity: the collection of contemporary normalites).

¹⁸⁶ CgNSYB, 1929-30, p.3. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

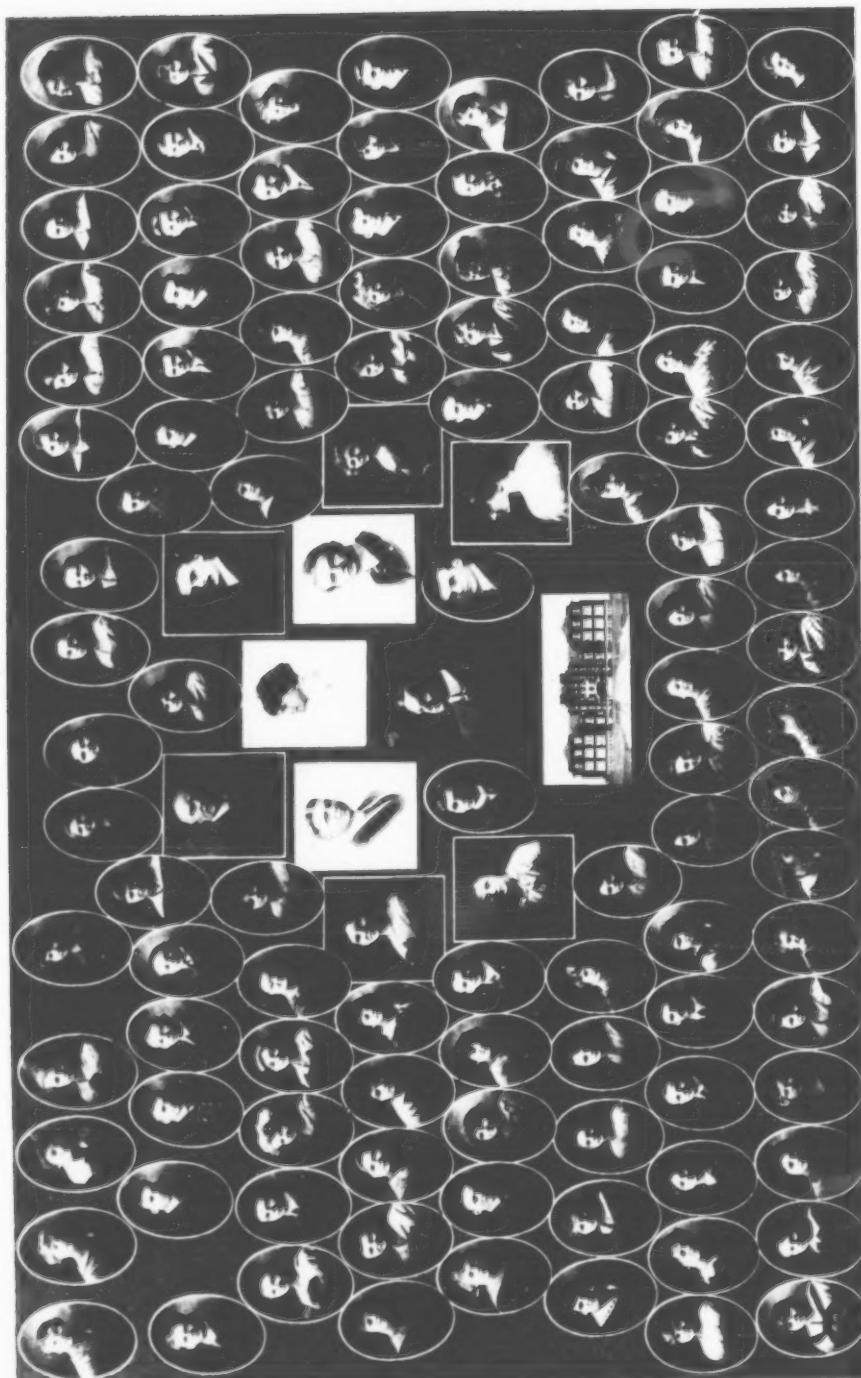


PHOTO 4

The blows showered down, and, when expertly struck, they culminated in an individual who was prepared to use, who was likely to use (as is indicated by the editorial), the same tactics and technologies in the education of his or her students. When deconstructive reconstruction successfully penetrated the inmate, the teacher which emerged became a link in the extension of power.

The forging of this link was inherently transformative. The normal school experience was initially characterized by processes which objectified; the normalite was acted upon. The cumulative effect of objectification was alienation (and, hopefully, dependency), and to quell the terror which accompanied this estrangement many normalites embraced a philosophy of willingness (vis a vis institutional requirements), which seemed to allow for a re-integration of the self, for a wholeness to emerge. Such a strategy on the part of the normalite also permitted him or her to exercise a semblance of control in an environment often characterized by seeming absurdity.

With this will, the subject was born. The normalite energetically sought to assimilate institutional norms because such activity appeared to be self-determining and self-enhancing. It was, but it was not. Certainly, the inmate could act to achieve particular ends; the success or failure of those actions were dependent on his or her ability to perform. However, the ends sought merely reflected institutional demands; to develop the self in terms of them was merely to become as artificial as the environment within which the normalite was reconstructed. The tactics of deconstructive reconstruction manipulated and heightened the emergent normalite will, effectively convincing many normalites that conformity with that promoted by/within the normal school was, undoubtedly, an action which would more fully develop the self. Power was a

process which apparently advocated, indeed demanded, the desiring subject.

This examination of power, of deconstructive reconstruction, has developed much as the effective operation of power would demand. That is, it has been presented as if the result of its exercise was a uniform victory for singularity. It was not. Power was fractured within the normal school, for there was another discourse on teacher training to be heard within the institution, and this despite attempts by authorities to silence it. It was the discourse of the marginalized inmates, the voices of those normalites who refused to merely surrender to the dictates of the tactics of deconstructive reconstruction.

In the attack of deconstructive reconstruction, the normalite cannot be envisioned as merely a neutral bystander. While he or she was a site of conflict on/in which battles were waged, the normalite was also a self-conscious agent who sometimes choose to negotiate the structures of power, and not simply capitulate to them. Some normalites strove to be the author of their own experiences within the normal school, rather than to submit to the authorship of another. As E.W. Coffin, Principal of the Calgary Normal School, bemoaned, *...the fact seems to be that correct habits have not been mastered to the point of automatic certainty.*¹⁸⁷ Thus, the dynamic, the compelling, the seductive tactics of deconstructive reconstruction were not always victorious.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷ NSAR, 1921, p.37.

¹⁸⁸ Undoubtedly, the appearance of success sometimes belied only superficiality, a strategic response on the part of the normalite to conform simply to get a teaching certificate. Where this is the case is, by nature, difficult to determine. It is an issue explored more fully in Chapter Nine.

The failure of deconstructive reconstruction was primarily manifested in such actions of normalite resistance which disrupted the certainty sought by individuals like Coffin. Sometimes resistance was tactically structured and exercised; at other times, it was spontaneous, rebellious, isolated. In either case, it was an act of self-awareness.

The exploration of the acts of self-awareness, the fractures in the exercise of power which let the individual emerge and stand forth from the assimilating web of the institution, form the critique of institutional power which follows in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 8

CRITIQUE OF THE OPERATION OF INSTITUTIONAL POWER:
NORMALITE DISCOURSESINTRODUCTION

In our daily trials rebellion plays the same role as does the "cogito" in the realm of thought: it is the first piece of evidence.... With rebellion, awareness is born.

Albert Camus¹

Camus' insight is particularly appropriate when applied to an environment designed to impose a singular, unifying identity. Let there be no doubt; this was the intention of the normal school in Alberta. The sentiment of G.F. McNally, Principal of the Camrose Normal School, permeated the institution:

*Course of lectures and demonstrations were given by each of the Normal School specialists to give the students our point of view regarding the subject, the method of teaching it and the proper interpretation of the authorized course of study.*²

Alas, the normal school experience never quite played out in the fashion desired by normal school authorities. It was opposed by many normalites.

Illustrating the normalites' rejection of singularity, this section of the study exposes resistance and its concomitant awareness. It is an exploration which emerges as fundamental in this study. It is based on the premise

¹ Albert Camus, The Rebel: An Essay on Man in Revolt, trans. Anthony Bower (1951; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), pp.22, 15.

² NSAR, 1914, p.36. While McNally was referring to a special course for American-born teachers, I suggest that the sentiment was equally applicable to all normalites. See Appendix I for a list of normal school principals.

that such activity did not necessarily represent inability, as normal school authorities were often wont to define it, but may well have been a strategic response designed to resist the stifling atmosphere of disciplinary power within the normal school. Rejecting the imposition of institutional norms, and the artificiality in which they tended to culminate, acts of resistance, often consciously chosen and exercised, allowed the individual to emerge -- to stand forth -- within an environment which operated to mock that concept.³

For some normalites the normal school experience climaxed in their mastering of the institutional norms, in their becoming, as far as institutional authorities were concerned, teachers who would perform quite satisfactorily. These were the inmates on whom deconstructive reconstruction most effectively operated, who won the awards, who internalized the modelled characteristics and attitudes, who upheld the normal school tradition. Yet, for others, the experience was less amenable. These were the normalites unwilling to submit to the imperatives of institutional power. On the matter of such individuals, W.A. Stickle, Principal of the Camrose Normal School, commented, *Every year there are a number who cannot or will not do the work....* This strikes at the heart of the matter of resistance: it is difficult to determine whether failure marked inability or unwillingness. Ultimately, Stickle believed this to be an insignificant division: both categories should be dealt with in the same way, by

³ A start in understanding this resistance may be made with a consideration of the term normalite: it appears to have been used only by normal school students. Did they create the word? Was it, then, an attempt to exercise some degree over who they were, and how they were perceived when training as teachers?

requesting that such individuals *...might, with benefit to all concerned, be excused from further attendance....*⁴ Acts of resistance, which individualized normalites, corrupted the homogenizing, disciplining normal school experience, and, apparently (or at least publicly) could be dealt with in only one way: harshly.

Within the normal school, normalite resistances were variously manifested. Mirroring the tactic of exposure, active non-compliance was exercised prior to any encounter with the normal school institution. Individuals acted to circumvent the Normal Entrance Requirements, thereby corrupting the efficiency of that technology of exposure. Sometimes resistance belied an organized strategy on the part of the inmates, a group effort in which individuals consciously acted in a fashion deemed undesirable or inappropriate by institutional authorities. This was the case, for example, in the normalite co-option of the library, and in their stealthily planned activities away from the normal school. On other occasions, normalites acted autonomously, for example, in attempts to use their knowledge of the organization of teacher training to their benefit. Such was the situation when normalites appealed to authorities in the Department of Education for redress of unsatisfactory matters experienced during teacher training. The broad categories of failures and withdrawals, if considered not as reflections of inability or deficiency, but as profoundly individual acts, come to represent individual acts of opposition, and need be explored. The final realm of the normalite experience to be examined in the context of this critique of institutional power is the image of the teacher. While certain characteristics were consciously modelled by normal school instructors,

⁴ NSAR, 1923, p.47.

normalites perceived other attitudes which countered and rendered the desired image somewhat impotent.

Searching for resistance is arduous, for all parties endeavoured to minimize its presence. Disciplinary power, seeking as it did to reduce multiplicities, concealed resistance; potential, alternative routes of actions could not be promoted. Normal administrators rarely discussed how normalites failed to measure up to institutional norms; secrecy intensified their authority. Rather, the reader generally encounters only the simple fact of the alleged inadequacy. Similarly, when normalites discovered an action of resistance that appeared effective, that allowed them to counter the structuring actions of power, they were obviously hesitant to reveal those avenues. Such knowledge would have allowed institutional authorities to seal off those alternative and enticing routes. Thus, the resistances which this study comments on are not numerous, nor terribly structured; they did, however, exist, a presence which belies the operation of power.

THE NORMAL ENTRANCE REQUIREMENTS

When examined as a technology of the tactic of exposure, it was evident that the Normal Entrance Requirements (NER) were designed primarily to homogenize the group of individuals who entered the normal school. Such homogeneity increased the efficacy of power. By defining potential inmates in terms of certain characteristics, the NER also began the process of identity reconstruction. While the NER were necessarily designed to be universal, often they were not; it was not uncommon for normalites to slip by the institutional prerequisites. Sometimes, Department of Education (DOE) officials intentionally loosened this net, while at other times, and

perhaps more importantly, normalites themselves subversively negotiated entrance demands.⁵

The academic criteria was the NER which DOE officials were most inclined to slacken. On more than one occasion this resulted in the creation of a new category of students, the "conditioned" normalite. The first indications of such a group was near the end of the First World War, in 1918, when the Calgary Normal School reported that seventeen individuals had a *Conditioned Academic Standing For Admission*.⁶ This category of normalite was subsequently elaborated upon.

The abnormal number of failures at the last Departmental examinations led to the temporary expedient of

⁵ Efforts by the DOE to circumvent established NER obviously does not represent the normalite voice, but I consider it important in a critique of institutional power as it demonstrates that the technologies of deconstructive reconstruction were not monolithic; over the four decades of interest they were fluid, adjusting to changing circumstances. This would also be the case, for example, when the DOE allowed for the entrance of individuals who could only arrive after the opening of normal school. Bethia Moodie was allowed to attend as late as January 15, even though classes began on January 3. Coffin to Bellamy (Registrar), January 5, 1934. In the case of Karl Kosior, Coffin was advised that he could attend normal school as late as September 18, a number of days after the official term opening. *He might be allowed that as he is a University Graduate*. Registrar to Coffin, September 11, 1934. Interestingly, Betty Lindmark had also applied late that year, and was advised that she could not attend. Coffin wrote to the Registrar on her behalf, stating that if others (like Kosior) were shown such consideration, then it was *only fair* she should also. The DOE reluctantly agreed. Bellamy (Registrar) to Coffin, September 7, 1934; Coffin to Ross (Deputy Minister), September 11, 1934; Assistant Registrar to Coffin, September 12, 1934. Note that in both cases, the decisions were not in the hands of normal school authorities. Each of these documents is found in NSF, PAA 78.92-2.

⁶ NSAR, 1918, p.23.

admitting to the Normal Schools candidates with lower academic standing than is usually required, on the condition that they do special academic work during the term, and in the spring write off a specified number of their conditioned subjects.⁷

On the instructions of the Minister, and because of the urgent demand for teachers, the 1920-21 session, which had opened on Aug. 24th, closed on Apr. 8th. Special high school classes for conditioned students were continued until the May matriculation examinations....

The following table shows the number of conditioned students in several subjects.

1921-22	
Literature.....	5
Geometry.....	11
Composition.....	6
Chemistry.....	3
Physics.....	16
(Eng Lang and History of Literature).....	2
Latin.....	3
History.....	9
French.....	3
Arithmetic.....	14
Agriculture.....	1
Algebra.....	12 ⁸

The problem of inadequate teacher supply was mirrored with the onset of the Second World War; perhaps as to be expected, the solution was similar. W.H. Swift, Principal of the Calgary Normal School, was informed that

...we have required all candidates for admission to the Normal Schools to take the General Survey Tests. In order to get a number anywhere near the quota for this year we have had to take everybody who has a grade XII standing, even if the average is only a bare 50%. Consequently we shall not refuse admission to any student who has taken the

⁷ NSAR, 1920, p.57.

⁸ NSAR, 1921, p.36. There were 174 students at the Calgary Normal School that year. The practice of accepting conditioned students continued to the middle of the decade. In the 1923-24 normal school year, a similar chart listed 128 such students. NSAR, 1924, p.39.

*test but failed. Nevertheless, we require the test scores for every admitted candidate....*⁹

Re-emphasizing this point was a hand-written note to Swift, which soon followed: *OK. Collect fees from all because we are admitting all now.*¹⁰

The academic criteria of the NER was loosened on at least one other occasion. The regulations for 1921-22 stated that *The minimum academic qualification is the Grade XI Certificate, or its equivalent. However, In the case of soldiers whose educational career was interrupted by the war, the Grade X Diploma will be accepted as sufficient qualification for admission.*¹¹ Apparently, some attributes were more valuable for a teacher (or of more value within the normal school) than academic qualifications.

The corruption of the NER, when instigated by DOE officials presents a dilemma to the method of deconstructive reconstruction. After all, the NER operated as a homogenizing technology in the effective exercise of power. One is left wondering why the NER would be loosened if that would inhibit the operation of disciplinary power, as it likely did. The answer to this lies in the location of the decision to abandon academic standards. It occurred

⁹ H.C. Newland (Supervisor of Schools) to W.H. Swift (Principal of Calgary Normal School), September 20, 1940. PAA, 78.92-1. Interestingly, the preliminary test still had to be taken. The construction of a body of knowledge about the normalite appears essential.

¹⁰ W.H. Swift to H.C. Newland. September 25, 1940. NSF, PAA 78.92-1. Newland had scribbled his note on the page.

¹¹ ANSA, 1921-22, p.11. The regulation also noted that *Each application must be accompanied by...such certificates of academic standing as the applicant may possess.* Again, it is evident that it was desirable to collect as much knowledge of normalites as possible.

at the level of the DOE, and not within the normal school. In times of low teacher supply, DOE officials were undoubtedly interested in ensuring there would be a sufficient quantity of teachers. Particularly at such times of crisis, the details of teacher training were likely less their concern than maintaining a supply of teachers equal to demand.¹² Normal school authorities, those who had to deal with the consequences of this policy, were unenthusiastic. As E.W. Coffin wrote, *The general results of this experiment of "lowering the threshold" for admission do not warrant its repetition....*¹³ At the 1935 Conference of Normal School Instructors, one of the items on the agenda was *Admission requirements - what additional safeguards should be required?*¹⁴ Watering down the NER, eroding homogeneity and potential singularity, interfered with the efficacy of teacher training (identity reconstruction) within the normal school, a result which normal instructors, those on the front line who were cognizant of the implications of the policy, were anxious to avoid.

Similar circumventions of the NER were evident when the age criteria was at issue. Unlike the academic criteria, however, in the case of age, it was the normalites who undermined institutional demands. A series of letters between the Registrar, H.J. Spicer, and E.W. Coffin, regarding Gertrude Martin, a normalite, are demonstrative. Initially, Spicer informed Coffin that there

¹² This is speculation on my part, as I could find no document which explicitly revealed this particular rationale on the part of the DOE.

¹³ NSAR, 1921, p.36.

¹⁴ Conference of Normal School Instructors, Agenda, Wednesday, June 26, 1935. NSF, PAA 78.92-1.

were over one hundred fully qualified applicants on file who failed to meet the age requirement; none would be admitted.¹⁵ Coffin's response indicated that he had instructed Martin to withdraw, and he added that,

*At the same time, Miss Martin assures me that there are others of her acquaintance here, who are guilty of the same offence. I did not, of course, ask her to give me their names, but no doubt you will find them as in the case of Miss Martin, as it would be obviously unfair to allow others such to remain in attendance.*¹⁶

Spicer responded to Coffin in a letter ringing with a somewhat defensive tone.

*With reference to her [Martin's] assertion that others have been admitted who are likewise underage, I may say that the only method we have of checking the ages of the applicants is through our examination records and in all cases we have checked the ages of the applicants and refused admission to any who appeared to be underage until the produced birth certificates or other evidence of having attained the age required. I have been informed by a number of persons that there have been admitted to the Edmonton school students who are under age, but no such cases have been brought to my attention.... [Seven or eight others have been refused admission on account of their being underage] as in the case of Miss Martin.*¹⁷

The case of Miss Martin is highly suggestive. It indicates that normalites acted to thwart structures within the normal school which supported the operation of institutional power.¹⁸

¹⁵ Spicer to Coffin, September 30, 1931. PAA 78.92-2. There must be a missing letter, likely from Coffin, which inquired into the possibility of the continued attendance of the underage Martin.

¹⁶ Coffin to Spicer, October 2, 1931. NSF, PAA 78.92-2.

¹⁷ Spicer to Coffin, October 5, 1931. NSF, PAA 78.92-2.

¹⁸ Given that the DOE had strong suspicions that underage individuals were attending normal school, one

THE LIBRARY

The previous explorations of the tactics of exposure and dispersion illustrated the minimization of normalite space within the normal schools. The institutions were constructed with paramountcy given to public areas. Operating within this design, normalites actively created their own spaces. The cooption of the library was the most prominent example of this animated resistance.

Normal school authorities were quite pleased with the normalites' intense use of the library. E.W. Coffin exuberantly wrote that *...it is still more gratifying to note that the Library is probably the busiest place in the building.*¹⁹ The situation was paralleled at the Edmonton Normal School, where a contented Principal G.S. Lord noted that

*The library continues to be used extensively. Sometimes as many as 150 books are taken out in a day by the students. The books are well selected and reflect well standard ideas and new trends of thought in education. Accessions number about 300 volumes per year. The number of volumes is more than 4,000.*²⁰

A.E. Torrie, Principal of the Camrose Normal School, expounded on his belief as to why the library was such an important facility at the Camrose institution.

The Library is kept open in the evenings and each member of the staff in turn takes charge. This arrangement is a very satisfactory one, as the students frequently have cramped

wonders why these cases were not subject to more rigorous inquiry. It could be that such specific investigation would disrupt the growing harmony and unity of the class, and was thus better avoided. Or, perhaps age simply was not seen to be a particularly important NER.

¹⁹ NSAR, 1922, p.40.

²⁰ NSAR, 1936, p.35.

*quarters in which to study at their boarding houses, while in the library they have very pleasant, sanitary, warm conditions under which to do their work.*²¹

From the perspective of normal school administrators, then, the library was a place for teacher training, and the intense activities which went on within indicative of that work.

Many normalites did not share this understanding of the library. The *Camrose Normal Dictionary* defined the library as a *rendezvous on the second floor*....²² One of the Ten Commandments for ENS instructed normalites to *Honor thy librarian and her methods, that thy periods may be long and spent deep in dime novels*.²³ In an anecdote entitled *Wool Gathering*, normalite Pearl E. Wendt, Class IA, wrote of the joy which defined her library experiences.

Library periods are characterized by a sense of well-being and security. No harrowing fears of being called upon to expound on the wit of Thorndyke or the absurdity of Froebel assail on my peaceful mind.

I sit at the table near the north-east window and examine, very superficially, the various details which make up the room. My gaze, shifting often, follows no orderly fashion but occasionally fixes on some object. The high ceiling; the green-shaded lamps suspended from it; the well-filled arithmetic, grammar, and psychology shelves and the usually empty supplementary reading shelf; the picture of our favorite prince in riding habit; the fern in its stand near the west window; the sunbeams slanting across earnestly bent heads - all are seen and immediately forgotten. For a moment the print of the "Boyhood of Raleigh" catches my eye. The old sailor is pointing out to sea and instinctively my gaze shifts to the blue sky and white clouds.

Sounds, faint then louder, coming up from the music room bring me out of my absorption. I look at the clock.

²¹ NSAR, 1924, p.43.

²² CmNSYB, 1929-30, p.43. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

²³ ENSYB, 1929-30, p.24. NSF, PAA 84.484-3.

*The pleasant interlude of day-dreaming is at an end.*²⁴

For Wendt, the library allowed a type of unrestrained, undisciplined existence, risky, and perhaps foolhardy, if exercised elsewhere in the normal school.

As the principals of the various normal schools noticed, the libraries were indeed busy. However, the hustle and bustle within neither merely nor necessarily reflected the work in which the principals believed normalites to be engaged. Rather, normalites had transformed the room into a meeting place, in which together, or individually, they could escape the demands, the exercise of disciplinary power which otherwise permeated the institutions.

RULE BREAKING

Occasionally, voice would be given to normalite activities which suggests they were occupied with undertakings not sanctioned by normal school authorities. There were both individual and group transgressions, which together indicate that normalites did not simply succumb to institutional imperatives; rather they sought to negotiate those demands, to, in some limited way, structure their own normal school experience. By developing their own tactics to counteract those of disciplinary power, normalites asserted an individuality, an awareness of individuality, which operated to erode the effectiveness of deconstructive reconstruction.

Individual Resistances

Examples of individual efforts to neutralize

²⁴ CmNSYB, 1929-30, p.40. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

disciplinary power emerged primarily in DOE correspondence. What is interesting about normalites who were the focus of such correspondence is their awareness of the hierarchical structure of teacher training, and their subsequent attempts to use this knowledge to their advantage. A brief examination of that hierarchy is thus necessary.

The organization of teacher training was highly regulated, with individuals occupying clearly demarcated functions. Authority trickled down from the Premier, to the Minister of Education, his Deputy Minister, through the Supervisor of Schools, to the Principal of the Normal School, and, finally, the instructors. The DOE supervised the normal schools by means of a closely exercised control. Admission regulations were established by the DOE. Candidates applied to the DOE for admission, and the DOE determined which normal school successful applicants would attend.²⁵ The DOE similarly determined at which normal school instructors would teach.²⁶

When normal school staff were unsure as to proper action, advice was sought from the DOE. For example, there were the cases of Gertrude Oak and John Pankratz, two students at the Calgary Normal School during the 1934 session, who had not completed residency (naturalization) requirements. At that time, all teachers had to be British subjects. E.W. Coffin wrote to G.W. Gorman, the Deputy Minister of Education, for instructions on how to proceed.²⁷

²⁵ ANSA, 1921-22, pp.11-12.

²⁶ See, for example, letter from the Deputy Minister of Education to G.K. Haverstock (Principal of the Camrose Normal School) April 12, 1938. NSF, PAA 78.92-1.

²⁷ Coffin to Gorman (Deputy Minister), November 22, 1934. NSF, PAA 78.92-2. The Deputy Minister responded, *The*

When the DOE was vexed by the actions of normal school staff, the offending party was hurriedly made aware of the displeasure. For example, in 1934 the Camrose Normal School was in the habit of accepting notes from normalites in lieu of payment for registration fees. The Deputy Minister made it clear that this policy must be stopped.²⁸ Another example involved Edmonton Normal School Principal G.S. Lord, who was reprimanded for making plans to pursue graduate work without DOE approval, an action which confused the forthcoming teacher training schedule. G.F. McNally vehemently wrote,

*I should also like to point out to you that as Supervisor of schools I am in charge of the Normal Schools of this Province, and that, in future, I will expect you to take up with me all matters relating to your duties as Principal of the Normal School, and all matters relating to curriculum and textbooks. It is only fair, I take it, to expect this courtesy from you, and I am sure that if you conform to it you will save time for me and expedite procedures for yourself.*²⁹

Such demands for conformity belied much of the essence of teacher training. The nature of the paternally organized hierarchy was fully exposed in the rather comical case of normal school instructor I.H. Graham, who informed G.F.

Department, through having accepted fees from these persons, is under no obligation to deal with them otherwise as provided by law. They are at liberty to continue in attendance at the Normal School and to complete the course successfully if they are able to do so; but they will not be eligible for certification until they produce evidence of having become British subjects. Gorman to Coffin, December 7, 1934. NSF, PAA 78.92-2.

²⁸ J.T. Ross (Deputy Minister) to G.K. Haverstock, November 22, 1934. NSF, PAA 78.92-1.

²⁹ McNally to Lord, January 25, 1936. NSF, PAA 78.92-1.

McNally that I am expecting to marry Miss Muriel Adams.... I trust that this step I am taking meets with your hearty approval. In concluding Graham added that his note was purely informative as it is felt that as you are the head of the Department a personal letter telling you about it would not be out of place.³⁰

The most detailed case of a normalite pursuing her desired ends by trying to manipulate the organization of teacher training to her advantage was that of Phyllis McCallum.³¹ Evidently, she was ultimately unsuccessful in achieving her goal (to retake her practice teaching course, and thus receive a first class teaching certificate). However, she was able, to a considerable extent, to disrupt the teacher training organization, by playing its various parts off against each other.

The first letter was from McCallum to Premier, and Minister of Education, William Aberhart, her former teacher at Crescent Heights High School in Calgary.³² Aberhart was informed that McCallum received a 63% in practice teaching, a failing grade (65% was a pass), and that this was the only matter which prevented her from applying for her first class certificate. She wrote, *They told me it was because my voice hadn't enough force. This seems to be my only*

³⁰ Graham to McNally May 14, 1938. NSF, PAA 78.92-2. Apparently McNally knew Adams' family. This example also suggests the extent of the gaze within the organization of teacher training: all within the normal school were caught in the gaze which permeated the institution.

³¹ Over a five month period, from June to October 1937, there were a series of at least eight letters regarding McCallum's case, seven of which could be found in the archival records. This number far outweighs the correspondence which focused on any other normalite.

³² Phyllis McCallum to William Aberhart, June 9, 1937. NSF, PAA 78.92-2.

trouble and I'm sure that with a little practice it can be easily overcome. Regulations demanded that McCallum retake all second term courses (including those she had passed) in the second term of the subsequent year, an unrealistic course of action she was unwilling to pursue. She concluded by arguing,

I can't seem to realize that I can be held back for that which can be so easily overcome. We didn't have enough teaching practice to improve ourselves to a very great extent. I wish that you could give my problem personal consideration as I feel I should have something to show for my year at Normal.

Aberhart must have referred the matter to H.C. Newland, the Supervisor of Schools, who, in turn, contacted E.W. Coffin.³³ Coffin's response is worth quoting in detail, for it illuminates what were deemed important aspects of the teacher inventory, and of practice teaching procedures.

...we [the normal school staff] have considered her [McCallum's] case...with the greatest of care, and we came to the agreement that her successive teaching reports did not show any advance in force of personality, clearness of voice, or teaching skill. Her average and median for eight lesson formally criticized is 62.5, and in nine lessons taught in the city schools, and reported on by the public school teachers, she received five C's, three D's and one E. Frankly, Miss McCallum did not show good promise for public school teaching. It may be that, with greater maturity, she will develop more force of presentation and control....

In fact, Coffin suggested it would be a far better policy to send normalites who failed in only one (presumably professional) course to a rural school for a short period rather than back to normal school, *...for apprentice teaching is what is needed in these cases rather than a continuation of the single lesson performances that put*

³³ Coffin to Newland, June 14, 1937. NSF, PAA 78.92-2.

them on so much exhibition before formal critics.

In his response to McCallum, Newland essentially repeated what Coffin had informed him.³⁴

...you do not show good promise for elementary school teaching. It appears that your successive teaching reports did not show any advance in force of personality, clearness of voice, or teaching skill.

He added that it would be impossible to obtain a teaching certificate without the full support of the normal school instructors. *The Department no longer permits Normal School graduates to begin the work of teaching before they have measured up in full to the requirements of the Normal School course.* Newland concluded, interestingly, by suggesting that *...a further term at Normal School would, in the opinion of the Department, be of benefit to any Normal School student, particularly, one would think, those normalites whose measurements remained deficient.* Coffin quite clearly disagreed with this sentiment of the DOE; McCallum's pursuit had highlighted a contradiction within the structure of teacher training.

McCallum's mother responded with a heated rejoinder.³⁵ She stated that *I am not asking for favors for Phyllis just Canadian fair play.* On the matter of successive improvement, she queried *All her criticisms were from a C- at Christmas to B- at Easter which I understand is fair progress. If parents cannot judge by these reports, what advantage are they?* She continued *Dr. Coffin told me Phyllis' only trouble was her voice, [she] did not speak loudly. Candidly do you think that a just reason for not granting her certificate.... If students are to be failed on mere technicalities, what is*

³⁴ Newland to McCallum, June 21, 1937. NSF, PAA 78.92-2.

³⁵ M. McCallum to Newland, August 19, 1937. NSF, PAA 78.92-2.

the use of parents sacrificing [sic] to educate them. The Normal staff knew Phyllis did not speak loudly, then why was she not told definitely [sic] that she would fail in practise [sic] teaching unless she improved, instead of waiting until the final day of school.

Her frustration evident, she reflected

For twenty seven years I've watched all kinds of reforms and experiments in Alberta and this to me is the limit, possibly because it touches my home. Just think it over. \$100 for tuition, not including books, clothing and what not and then failed because you don't speak loudly enough. Has education become a racket also?

Newland responded to McCallum by more or less restating his earlier argument, noting as well that

*Phyllis's standing in Music was unsatisfactory, and...in the opinion of the Staff her work in Practice Teaching was related not only to her voice but to a lack of strength in her personality which would handicap her classroom work.*³⁶

Mrs. McCallum was informed that the *Department of Education* has to be guided by the finding of the Normal School instructors, who are after all, the ones most competent to deal with a problem of this kind. Of course, this was not quite true, as Coffin had advised Newland that it would be to little advantage for McCallum to return to Normal School. Newland also noted that *The Staff*, of course, does not pretend to be infallible in matters of this kind, but has certainly made the effort to deal with all of the Normal School students on the same basis. Such equal treatment (or, more importantly, the appearance thereof) was desirable for efficient normal school operation.

The final two letters are in response to a letter from Phyllis McCallum to Newland, in which McCallum asked Newland if she might be permitted to take her practice

³⁶ Newland to M. McCallum, August 30, 1937. NSF PAA 78.92-2.

teaching in the first term, rather than in the term following Christmas. She concludes her letter with this sentence. "I have talked it over with Dr. Coffin. He advised me to write to you for your permission."³⁷ Newland was not at all pleased with this turn of events.

Now really, Dr. Coffin, I do not think you are quite playing the game with respect to the matter.... After having come through that [McCallum's and her mother's appeals] with her, you are now putting me in a position where it appears that I am "the big, bad wolf" who is keeping her from getting her First Class Certificate by refusing to permit her to attend Normal School for a few weeks in the fall term instead of requiring her to attend from January to June.... If we are to have any regulations whatever with respect to teacher training, it will have to be understood that these regulations have to be carried out by the Principals for the Normal Schools as well as by the officials of the Department here, and I do not think that any student should be given encouragement in thinking that his or her case is entitled to special consideration by a Normal School Principal until at least the Supervisor of School has been notified, and the possibility canvassed with him.³⁸

Newland held firm on his refusal to give special consideration to McCallum. Coffin hurriedly responded, May I suggest that you have been given a rather liberal version of what I said to Miss McCallum. As I remember, I distinctly told her what the regulation was and that I had no authority to depart from it, but that if she wished to secure any such allowance, she would have to take it up with the Department, and I presume I mentioned your name as

³⁷ This letter could not be found. The information comes from a letter from Newland to Coffin, October 25, 1937. NSF, PAA 78.92-2.

³⁸ Newland to Coffin, October 25, 1937. NSF, PAA 78.92-2. Newland's concluding remarks suggest the possibility, at least, of normalite success in the matter of resistance.

*Supervisor of Schools.*³⁹

He added, rather obsequiously,

*I regret to have caused you any annoyance. The trouble has been in the past that we do not seem always to have known how far our authority extended.... I was more than once emphatically rebuked for giving information to enquirers concerning professional standing.... Possibly, then, I have gotten into the habit of referring to the Department even where unnecessary.*⁴⁰

Coffin concluded, *If I hear anything more from this young woman, which is unlikely, she will be told quite definitely what she has to do.* Evidently McCallum was not heard from again. While she was apparently unsuccessful in obtaining her first class certificate, this series of letters indicates that she did not simply submit to normal school pronouncements; she tried to use the system, acting in what she perceived to be her best interests. At the very least she was successful in exposing certain inconsistencies in teacher training policy, and in having teacher training authorities debate her predicament.

Another example of a normalite taking matters into her own hands culminated in a change of DOE policy, though it was of little tangible value to her. H.C. Newland, Supervisor of Schools, explained the situation,

I have recently had to deal with a very distressing case of a girl who entered the Normal School on borrowed funds and after making a very low score on the preliminary test failed completely at the end of the year. Instead of being told that she was foolish to return to normal School the

³⁹ Coffin to Newland, October 26, 1937. NSF, PAA 78.92-2. Apparently, McCallum had attended Summer School and was advised by G.S. Lord (who presumably was in charge this summer) *that this remedial course might be taken before Christmas....*

⁴⁰ Coffin's confusion is indicative of the operation of power, and suggests that even the principal could not escape its operation.

*following January she was told that she might return and encouraged to think that she might possibly succeed. She failed the second time just as badly as the first....*⁴¹

From this, the problem emerged: ...she has a feeling of resentment against the Department because she cannot obtain the Certificate and therefore cannot pay back the money she has borrowed. To address the situation, she has taken the case up with the Minister and he too has found it impossible to do anything for her. Newland concluded that I cite this case in order to make my point that in future the only policy that can be followed by the Normal School staff with respect to cases of this kind is that of being brutally frank right at the start. There is nothing to be gained by refusing to tell the students frankly that their chances of succeeding are very poor indeed and that they would be well advised not to return.⁴²

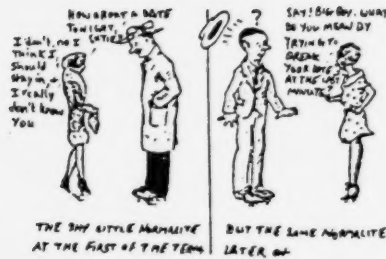
The actions of this normalite ultimately benefited others who found themselves in similar circumstances.

Finally, Larue Harney's cartoon might be considered [see Cartoon 1, next page].⁴³ The woman portrayed obviously did not display the character normal school authorities desired she would by the end of her teacher training term. In fact, she asserts rather a considerable independence, an individuality. It appears that this was a reconstructed identity influenced by the self-asserting actions of the normalite.

⁴¹ Newland to Coffin, July 17, 1939. NSF, PAA 78.92-2. Of course, there were cases of individuals who failed the preliminary tests and still did well in normal school. See NSAR, 1937, p.35.

⁴² Part of the problem here, of which Newland was apparently unaware, was the difficulty in determining (on the basis of the NER, and the various preliminary tests) which normalites would be successful. See, for example, Coffin's comments, footnotes 59 and 60, in this chapter.

⁴³ CmNSYB, 1929-30, p.67. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.



CARTOON 1

In the title of his cartoons, Harney suggests they are glimpses of Normal Life. Did the image of the woman in the cartoon ring true for more than one female normalite? Yes or no, the cartoon indicates (one or some) normalites determined their own paths within the normal school.

Group Resistances

The yearbooks provide some conspicuous examples of group resistance. The very presence of the record of these examples in the yearbook suggests their importance to normalites.⁴⁴ Together, they also imply a pattern of active normalite opposition. The column *With Our Graduates - Alumni Echoes*, is indicative of this attitude.

(The following is an extract from a letter of Miss McEwen, a student of '28 who is now teaching near Llyodminster [sic] - Literary Ed.)

.....To be quite truthful I fail to see that a 1930 Year Book would be of a great deal of interest to me.....However, I have some very dear memories of Camrose Normal Days tucked away.....

I wonder if the 1930 Normalites "cut" gym classes

⁴⁴ The yearbook came to play an important part in the normal school experience, an assumption gleaned in the comments of yearbook editor K. Gunvaldson: *May this book be throughout the years a clear keepsake which will long be preserved, if not for its intrinsic merits at least for the memories it will recall of a very happy year in our lives.* CmNSYB, 1929-30, p.3. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

by..... (We refuse to corrupt our present class by quoting in full the words describing the iniquitous devices of former years - Literary Ed.)⁴⁵

Beyond the cutting of classes, the commentary by the Literary Editor is most interesting. It was unlikely that the information was censored to protect the normalites of 1930. After all, the yearbook came out when the training period was almost completed. Of course, normalites did not need to be made aware of the specifics of the activity; its mention would undoubtedly rekindle strong memories of an undertaking which asserted their own authority. It was more probable that the information was censored because it was desired that normal staff remain ignorant of the particulars of normalite resistance.

In his poem *The Normalites*, normalite Merle Hillerud, Class C, indicated that teachers in training were questionably occupied (at least insofar as normal school authorities were concerned).

*We steal away one night a week,
Downtown to see a movie,
But we are dogged by pressing thoughts,
that we should really study.*⁴⁶

An intimate power struggle was played out here: the site of conflict was the normalite. Striving to structure his or her action, disciplinary power had ensured that even when away from the normal school, the normalite's thoughts would

⁴⁵ This excerpt is verbatim from the yearbook. CmNSYB, 1929-30, p.45. NSF, PAA 84.484-2. McEwen concluded her narrative by noting that *They are crowding in again, those memories*. Memories were an effective technique in maintaining the normal school tradition, and thus, despite her initial hesitation, the 1930 yearbook did indeed prove to be of interest to McEwen.

⁴⁶ This is the eighth of Hillerud's ten stanza poem. ENSYB, 1936-37, p.70. NSF, PAA 72.298-2.

be preoccupied with activities in which he or she should otherwise be engaged. Of course, the fact that Hillerud chose not to obey those structuring demands suggests that he (and the others referred to in the "We" of the poem) had resisted those imperatives, and decided to determine his own actions.

Periodically, forms of normalite resistance would emerge in jokes and anecdotes in the yearbook, thereby, perhaps, defusing its seriousness in the eyes of normal school authorities. *Do You Know? A certain one of our young men had to put his girl friend in through the window Maybe they had to spend too much time looking for the eclipse.*⁴⁷ Normalites were asked

*What is it that rises with the birds, goes to bed with the chickens, spends endless hours in study, devours reams of books, looks cheerful always, never makes a noise, and is punctual for every bell that rings? Answer - Not a Normal student.*⁴⁸

This is a particularly interesting riddle: it implies what was expected of the normalite, and suggests expectations were rarely met. D.P.'s cartoon re-enforced the dubious character of normalite punctuality [See Cartoon 2].⁴⁹



CARTOON 2

⁴⁷ This query is verbatim. ENSYB, 1937-38, p.40. Private Collection. Scribbled in the margin of the page is the name Girty; normalites were obviously aware of transgressions within the normal school.

⁴⁸ CgNSYB, 1929-30, p.53. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

⁴⁹ CgNSYB, 1930-31, p.13. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

The activities of the second term Student Council at the Edmonton Normal School are illuminating. After a brief discussion of their *promptitude and dispatch*, and their ability to deal with a budget, the report continued *Although the constitution was taboo as a subject for discussion, a motion was brought in condemning the use of critics and asking for their removal. The subject provided much bitter feeling and opportunity for caustic wit. Critics were found, however, to have their place in the programmes. We noticed with great acclaim that Mr. Doucette's [the staff representative] plea for business met with immediate results with the following unfortunate effects:*

1. *Most business when staff critic absent.*⁵⁰

The scenario played out during the term of this student council does not suggest a group of individuals who merely capitulated to institutional demands. Rather, they tried to author their own experiences within those demands.

The various collections of normal school "Ten Commandments" are also highly suggestive. While often related in a humorous manner, commandments stated rules probably broken at one's peril. They were likely restrictions against activities which normalites were wont to do.⁵¹ Various examples have been previously cited, but the presentation of a few more indicate additional forms of normalite resistance. In *The Ten Commandments for ENS*, normalites were told *Thou shalt not squeal on thy neighbor when he steals periods to make out a lesson plan.*⁵² This

⁵⁰ ENSYB, 1929-30, p.11. NSF, PAA 84.484-3. It is interesting that the constitution was not open for debate. Apparently, there were rules which normalites could not influence, but simply had to live with.

⁵¹ This assertion is based on the probability that the normal school commandments mirrored the Judaeo-Christian Ten Commandments, imperatives which act as restrictions against activities which individuals might otherwise (and likely do) engage in.

commandment is particularly revealing, for it does not merely suggest, it indicates that normalites consciously and actively avoided institutional demands by cutting classes, and by doing work at that time which normal school authorities demanded be done at some more appropriate occasion. At the Calgary Normal School, normalites were presented with The Ten Commandments for the Normal Classroom. Among the directives was one which stated *Thou shalt not hold tryst in the "Tech." side of the building.*⁵³ While the reasons for holding tryst in the Technical wing of the building can only be speculated upon (to escape the gaze of the normal school, to expand one's social horizons), a cartoon by D.P. indicates that it certainly happened [See Cartoon 3].⁵⁴



CARTOON 3

Evidently, normalites did not simply conform to institutional imperatives.

⁵² ENSYB, 1929-30, p.24. NSF, PAA 84.484-3.

⁵³ CgNSYB, 1929-30, p.32. NSF, PAA 84.484-1. The second Calgary Normal School building also housed the Provincial Technical Institute. The two facilities were designed to be divided into separate wings, but the needs of teacher training quickly allowed the normal school to dominate the building. NSAR, 1922, p.39.

⁵⁴ CgNSYB, 1930-31, p.13. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

WITHDRAWALS AND FAILURES

Of course, sometimes the refusal to internalize institutional norms carried dire consequences, which, I suggest, makes the act to resist even more worthy.⁵⁵ In such situations normalites were either asked to withdraw (if the resistance was detected early enough), or failed. Secrecy cloaked both of these outcomes: normal school authorities rarely disclosed the reasons for either course.⁵⁶ This practice undoubtedly enhanced the power of normal school authorities: only they possessed the knowledge which determined one's future as a teacher. The illumination of specific acts of normalite resistance gives voice to these silences.

Withdrawals

Generally, public pronouncements on withdrawals were not detailed. The comment of G.S. Lord is indicative.

*Of the eight persons who withdrew from the school, seven were requested to leave because of unpromising records or obvious unfitness for the work of teaching; the other withdrew on account of illness.*⁵⁷

Sometimes the information was even more nebulous, as is evident in the report of E.W. Coffin. *The total number of withdrawals during the session of 1930-31, for various*

⁵⁵ If we consider the actions of at least some of the normalites in these categories to represent unwillingness, as Stickle suggested (cited earlier in this chapter), then it transforms the deficient individual from an object measured to a subject acting.

⁵⁶ Aside from numbers, there is virtually no information on withdrawals prior to the 1930's. Failures were discussed, to some extent, as early as the 1920's. But details were similarly scant.

⁵⁷ NSAR, 1930, p.29.

causes, chiefly illness, was 12.⁵⁸ By the mid-1930's, the battery of preliminary tests was influencing normalite withdrawals. As a result of Normal School foundation examinations, two boys and one girl were asked to withdraw....⁵⁹ It was not until the late 1930's that details were revealed in any systematic manner. That year, a chart of Normal School Enrolment included a column indicating "Number of students withdrawing".

Edmonton:

September, 1938

- 1 - Mantoux Test.
- 2 - Voluntarily.
- 4 - Required to withdraw
in Dec., 1938.

January, 1939 (to repeat
second term)

--

Calgary:

September, 1938

- 4 - Work unpromising.

January, 1939 (to repeat
second term)

- 3 - Illness or Injury.
- 2 - Voluntarily.

16⁶⁰

Even at their most liberal, public details on causes for withdrawal were few. Given the plethora of other details in normal school reports, which were often as long as twenty pages, it can be assumed that normal school authorities simply did not want to divulge this information to the public.

Rare as it was, internal correspondence on the matter of withdrawals was sometimes more illuminating. In such cases, individual normalites were identified, with their predicament briefly commented upon. Regarding the 1930-31

⁵⁸ NSAR, 1931, p.26.

⁵⁹ NSAR, 1936, p.33.

⁶⁰ NSAR, 1939, p.31. The combined attendance of both normal schools was 472.

academic year, E.W. Coffin wrote,

*there are only four of whom I would say definitely that they had better withdraw. At the same time, I believe that even the majority of these four are making the best effort they can, and I have warned them that, if they return it will be entirely on their own responsibility. As a matter of fact, I cannot say with certainty that they are failures, until after the mid-sessional tests at the end of January.*⁶¹

Evidently, effort was paramount; enthusiastically exercised it overshadowed (at least temporarily) other deficiencies. Included in the six normalites on which Coffin commented were

AAA - Lundbreck, Alberta, A very weak student but conscientious.

BBB - Hilda, Alberta, Class work low. Exceedingly diffident, but seems to be trying her best.

CCC - Coalhurst, Alberta. A doubtful case. I have given him final warning, and if he returns and is unable to show better results, he will be summarily dropped.

DDD - Medicine Hat, Alberta. Generally weak, and advised as in CCC's case.⁶²

Aware of the subjectivity of his pronouncements, Coffin concluded,

*On the whole, I would prefer not to discharge any students at this time, but their results in the January tests will be the first to be reported, and a further continuance of the course would depend on those results.*⁶³

⁶¹ Coffin to Ross (Deputy Minister), December 22, 1931. NSF, PAA 78.92-2.

⁶² The names of these individuals are given in Coffin's letter; I have chosen not to print them. There were two women and two men.

⁶³ Coffin also noted that *we have no students this session who, because of foreign parentage, have special difficulty in language.* Presumably, then, this was also cause for advise to withdraw. The reader might also recall the difficulties attached to the policy of allowing doubtful cases to return in January (see Newland's comments, p.20).

Other references to withdrawals mirrored this rather terse pattern. On another occasion Coffin informed the DOE of six withdrawals, including

EEE - Class standing and Practice Teaching consistently low - withdrew on advice at Christmas - 1st instalment on fees paid - \$60.00.

FFF - As above, showing no signs of improvement - advised to withdraw at Christmas - finally withdrew, Jan. 6th - 1st instalment of fees paid, \$60.00.⁶⁴

A most revealing letter was written by G.K. Haverstock, Principal of the Camrose Normal School. In it, he not only commented on withdrawals, but also alluded to some of the technologies utilized by the normal school in determining who would be requested to leave. He wrote *The staff has given very careful consideration as to the fitness of our student body for the important work of teaching. We have made a special effort this term to know each student as an individual, through personal interviews and conferences. Each student has taught four lessons under observation of either a member of the Normal School Staff or Practice School Staff.⁶⁵*

On the basis of this intimate assessment, it was determined that four students did not possess the necessary traits to become successful teachers.... The staff recommended that they be asked to withdraw. Regarding two other students, the staff was of the opinion that they are weak, and [we] are not sure that we can recommend them next June, but [we] are prepared to allow them to return after Christmas. The parents are being notified. Haverstock concluded by noting that in no case have we any fault to find with either the

⁶⁴ Coffin to the Registrar, April 17, 1939. NSF, PAA 78.92-2. Again, the names are given, but I have chosen not to print them. There was one man and one woman.

⁶⁵ Haverstock to Ross (Deputy Minister), December 17, 1931. NSF, PAA 78.92-1.

character or the conduct of any of the above mentioned students. Presumably, the reasons for their deficiency lay in the realms of academic or professional proficiency.

From these details, one can surmise that normalites were not usually asked to withdraw for nonacademic causes, save medical cases.⁶⁶ The most commonly cited explanation indicated inadequate class standing. Whether such standing reflected ability or choice is, again, difficult to determine. Given the rigorous Normal Entrance Requirements, which should have screened poor students, it might be surmised that something within the normal school environment encouraged these individuals to act in such a way as to achieve low grades. In this light, it may well have been a form of resistance.

Failures

The very presence of failures, much like that of withdrawals, implies the failure of power. Whether inability or unwillingness is represented, power as it is understood in this study, should have operated on all; failures suggest that it could/did not. Unlike the matter of withdrawals, failures were something more of an issue in public records than in private correspondence.⁶⁷ Similarly, normal school officials were occasionally more verbose with regards to the reasons for failure than they were on those for withdrawal. Of the class of 1916, E.W. Coffin explained

⁶⁶ Of the three letters cited, the cases of eighteen students were detailed. Medical reasons were specifically given as reason for withdrawal for five of the normalites.

⁶⁷ One can only speculate on the reasons for this. It was probably not to the DOE's advantage to highlight withdrawals, for those were particularly disruptive, and acted to erode normal school unity.

that failures were due in most cases to shyness or mere inexperience...[which resulted in] these candidates being marked deficient at the Normal School....⁶⁸ When reporting on the class of 1924-25, A.E. Torrie noted that *The failures were in many cases caused by weaknesses in their elementary school work - poor writing, poor spelling and inaccurate work in arithmetic and in the use of English.*⁶⁹ Not only were the reasons for failure given, there also emerged increasingly detailed categories of record keeping. *Recommendations For The Elementary And Intermediate School Certificate In June 1939*

	Edmonton	Calgary
Number completing each year	220	236
Failures in Practice Teaching	---	3
Failures in Professional Subjects		
Only	5	---
Partial Failures	12	19
Partial Failures Successful at		
Summer School	12	19
Recommended for Certificates	203	214 ⁷⁰

The refinement of categories reflected the general trend which saw an increase in information known about individual normalites. It was a process which allowed the exercise of power to be more exact, more appropriate for each inmate.

⁶⁸ NSAR, 1916, p.26. There were eighteen third class certificates (failures) granted, out of a normal school population of 219. Coffin bemoaned the prospect of the short training course in overcoming these deficiencies. This causes one to consider the degree to which normalites were used as a means to an end: a large number of failures would support arguments for a longer teacher training course.

⁶⁹ NSAR, 1925, p.48. Again, Torrie's motivation here is questionable. From the inception of the normal school in Alberta, to the late 1930's, normal school authorities urged the adoption of higher standards in high school. His comments undoubtedly reflected that desire. See, for example, NSAR, 1907, p.37; 1936 p.30.

⁷⁰ NSAR, 1939, p.31.

The case of Miss Ferguson, attending the Calgary Normal School in 1933-34, demonstrates a proactive response on the part of a normalite facing failure. Aware of the hierarchical structure of teacher training in the province, Ferguson applied to G.F. McNally, Supervisor of Schools, for redress on a History of Modern Education course she had failed. The instructor of the course, D.A. McKerricher outlined the situation.

*You [McNally] advise me that this is the only subject which Miss Ferguson lacks for her full First Class Certificate and that it would be satisfactory to you if I were to give her a special examination or assignment of work so that she might get standing and not be required to repeat the work at a subsequent session of the Summer School.*⁷¹

McKerricher sketched out his marking strategy, and its rationale.

I gave four tests, two carrying a value of 15, one a value of 30 and one a value of 40 marks.... The tests were very objective in character and, I feel sure, furnished a good basis for arranging the students in the order of their worth.

He continued on to note that only three of thirty-eight failed, adding that *I could have passed everybody, of course, but I recall asking you if we were expected to pass all and being informed that you had no such desire.*⁷²

Ferguson had scored the lowest in the class (with marks of 10/15, 0/15 (absent), 14/30, and 19/40) and McKerricher

⁷¹ McKerricher to McNally, October 6, 1934. NSF, PAA 78.92-2. Some additional clarification is appropriate, but it is necessarily speculative since the initial letter, from Ferguson to McNally, could not be found. Apparently Ferguson failed the course at normal school, and took it again at Summer School. The correspondence between McKerricher and McNally addresses the second failure (i.e. the one at Summer School).

⁷² This causes one to wonder whether or not it had been a previous practice to pass everyone.

argued that if she should get special consideration, so should the other two failures. He concluded,

...I am willing to do whatever you think should be done in light of the evidence.... I don't want to do Miss Ferguson any injustice, but, on the other hand, I feel that standards should be maintained and that none should receive special treatment. I await your instruction in the matter. Your obedient servant....

McNally replied,

Our practice has been, in the case of students who had completed all their requirements for the First Class Certificate except one subject, not to demand a return to summer school for a second session, but to provide some means whereby they might qualify in [some other way].⁷³

While McNally was apparently not pleased with this regulation, he believed in all fairness that it should be applied to Ferguson, and, indeed to the other two failures, if their cases were similar. McNally concluded,

If the facts which I have outlined above are already known to you, and you feel that Miss Ferguson's work was generally so poor that she ought to be required to repeat this subject, I should be glad to accept your recommendation and advise her so. Your obedient servant....

There is no further information on Ferguson's case, and McKerricher's decision is unknown. However, what is important is Ferguson's refusal to submit: she took action on her own behalf to negotiate the structures and demands of teacher training. It appears as if she might well have succeeded.

IMAGE OF THE TEACHER

In the examination of the tactic of investiture, the

⁷³ McNally to McKerricher, October 10, 1934. NSF, PAA 78.92-2.

technology of modelling was explored. It became apparent that the ideal image of the teacher, the one promoted by normal school staff and administrators, was characterized largely by service, efficiency and cooperation. To a considerable extent normalites recognized these characteristics, and attempted to incorporate them into their emerging teacher identity. However, normalites were also aware of other characteristics modeled by instructors, ones which sometimes contradicted the ideal, and fractured the image of the teacher presented in the normal school.

A very interesting entry appeared in the 1932-33 edition of the Calgary Normal School Yearbook, one which bears repeating.

Like all women, when I find a good recipe I like to pass it on to others, and...I have found a recipe which is too good to keep so I am passing it on to all student teachers. N.B. - Follow directions closely and you will be sure to succeed.

Recipe for a Good Teacher

Ingredients:

- 1 c of personality*
- 2 c of ability*
- 1 c of stick-to-it-tiveness*
- 1 c of courage*
- 1 c of honesty and obedience (dissolved)*
- 6 tbl of high ideals*
- 2 tbl of self-sacrifice*
- 3 tbl of good humor*
- 1 large sweet smile*

First cream the personality and ability. Sift well together with the high ideals, courage, and self-sacrifice and add to the mixture. Beat in the stick-to-it-tiveness adding the dissolved honesty and obedience. Sprinkle over it the good humour and flavor with a sweet genuine smile.⁷⁴

This entry suggests that the image of the teacher held by normalites was a complex one. Included in the recipe is an ingredient which invites further investigation: obedience,

⁷⁴ CgNSYB, 1932-33, p.21. NSF, PAA 84.484-1. There is no author given.

and its necessary companion, authority. These were particularly important ingredients because they served to corrupt the ideal of cooperation promoted within the normal school. The instructors possessed a degree of authority which often insisted upon a subservient, docile response on the part of normalites. While (perhaps) not consciously promoted by normal school instructors, this acquiescent relationship emerged as a characteristic of the image of the teacher as important as anything else which may have been modelled.⁷⁵

Normalites were not ignorant of the fact that the cooperative attitude embodied in normal instructors existed in a state of tension with the authority the latter individuals held.⁷⁶ Ultimately, the cooperation of the instructor rested on the normalite's recognition of his or her authority, and, indeed, on the fact that such authority demanded cooperation on the instructor's terms; failure to cooperate with the instructor was to face the consequences. This reality emerged most lucidly in the various forms of the normal school "Ten Commandments". Directives to obey the instructor -- who looms as rather a benevolent dictator -- permeated these instructions.

⁷⁵ The authoritarian relationship has already been explored in the context of practice teaching, where normalites quickly learned that survival dictated obedience to be their most appropriate action. The evidence suggests that normalites were less willing to resist the demands of normal school authorities within the practice teaching environment. Perhaps at times of heightened confusion and anxiety instincts of self-preservation (which in this case advocated conformity as the best line of action) came to dominate.

⁷⁶ One wonders whether this drive to obedience was a result of the normalites' conscious or intuitive recognition of the authoritarian and hierarchical structure of teacher training. In either case, the sentiment certainly reflected this structure.

The Ten Commandments for ENS

1. Thou shalt not draw pictures in thy books, nor the likeness of anything that strikes thy to be funny, nor the likeness of a fair youth - such as thy teacher. Thou should'st not spend too much time in this way, for the teacher, thy guide and comfort, is a crab, and will request the honor of thy presence after four if thou art caught.

2. Thou shalt not snore in class, for bear in mind that thou mayest disturb the slumbers of the neighbor, and perhaps those of thy benevolent friend, the teacher.

5. Thou shalt not chew gum nor yet write notes for thy teacher would bring thee up in the ways of righteousness.

6. Thou shalt not copy homework, nor in any like a manner be so deceitful to thine aid and benefactor, the teacher.

7. Thou shalt honor the sergeant and join all the basketball teams in order that thou mayest have high marks and find favor in his sight.

10. Thou shalt worship none other than thy teacher.⁷⁷

The Ten Commandments for the Normal School Classroom

4. Honour thy teacher and his wrath lest a certificate not be forthcoming unto you.

6. Thou shalt not use last year's assignment or in any like manner be deceitful to thine aid and benefactor, the instructor.

10. Thou shalt live, honour and obey they instructor and thy course of studies all the days of the life.⁷⁸

Religious parallels emerge as obvious: the inappropriateness of questioning, the instructor's connection with God. Nine of twenty commandments directly concerned the instructor, and various aspects of his or her authority. This suggests the importance of this particular manifestation of the normalite/instructor relationship to the normalite.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ ENSYB, 1929-30, p.24. NSF, PAA 84.484-3. By M. Dakin, 1A.

⁷⁸ CgNSYB, 1929-30, p.32. NSF, PAA 84.484-1. By Billie, 2F.

⁷⁹ The use of the term "teacher" rather than "instructor" arguably implies that these were rules for all

Religious metaphors were complimented by those which demonstrated a secular nobility, as for example, staff biographical entries revealed in one normal school yearbook in the late 1920's. Emma Cissell, Class IIB, wrote of the instructors,

My History Notes

In the year of 1929-30 a long struggle took place in Canadian History, when the commons assembled at the institution at Camrose.

Queen Twomey

Queen Twomey was a very able queen. She introduced the First Reform Bill of 1929 which provided for the dissolution of all monotones. The Nation progressed rapidly in music and art during her reign.

King MacGregor

King MacGregor was the fifth great Reformer. During his reign the Industrial Revolution of map making took place, which was greatly opposed by the waiting classes. However, he took little notice of the opposition and put the act into effect in the early fall.... King MacGregor was succeeded by a diplomatic ruler King Wees.

King Wees

Of an illustrious line, perhaps the most outstanding in physical bravery is he. During the festive season of Yule he went alone and unarmed to the torture chamber in the heart of the city to show all his merry-making subjects that he, for one, had not forgotten the brave days of old when men suffered hardships with extreme fortitude. Back he came, mutilated, but undaunted and did deliver speeches....

King Trout

King Trout was the last of this notorious line. It was under this able monarch that the commons were given a voice. He passed the Second Reform Bill stating that, instead of just a few, all should be heard.

The ultimate result of this line of kings was that they placed the commons in power throughout the rural schools.⁸⁰

who taught. Therefore, it is likely that when normalites graduated and finally obtained a teaching position, they exercised (or sought to) similar control.

⁸⁰ CmNSYB, 1929-30, pp.5-7. NSF, PAA 84.484-2. Cissell used such regal terminology to describe each of the instructors. In her commentary on Wees, it is the tribulations of practice teaching which appear to be further illuminated.

The historical analogy is interesting. While the instructors may indeed have been encountered as royalty commanding obedience, the normalites also appear to have exercised some voice as a commons, though it appears it was little heeded by certain instructors, such as MacGregor. In fact, his use of charts was quite disliked by normalites, who, as is evident from an anonymous cartoon, apparently could do little about it [See cartoon 4].⁸¹



CARTOON 4

However, normalites were occasionally extended a sympathetic ear, as was the case with King Trout. Perhaps the anecdote was also meant to imply that the increasing power of the commons in the British parliamentary tradition was paralleled in the Camrose Normal school.

Obedience was sometimes manifested as discipline, an approach and an attitude which came across as less demeaning to those involved. Indeed, the transformation of obedience into discipline indicated the successful cooption of the characteristic into the emergent teacher identity: while one might be forced to be obedient, one chose to be disciplined. Normalites were cognizant of the emphasis

⁸¹ CmNSYB, 1929-30, p.44. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

placed on discipline within the normal school. Normalite Marion Robb wrote *One of the greatest values of the [teacher training] course is a training in self-reliance, a quality essential in a teacher, and during the nine months, it is developed to the full.*⁸² A subsequent yearbook editorial stated that *Here, for the first time, we fully realize that our success or failure in life depends upon on our own individual effort....*⁸³ Undoubtedly, however, the most lucid and forceful statement of the normalite attitude advocating triumphant discipline (and its foundations of obedience and authority) was given expression by normalite V.R. Nunn, Class ID. She wrote,

Obedience

*We must do the thing we must
Before the thing we may;
We are unfit for any trust
Till we can and do obey.*

George MacDonald

The bronze hum of an airplane high overhead; the Air Mail winging its way through the night. In clear sky, through banks of clouds, across rivers and mountain chains, over cities and fields, these messengers cleave the way to their objectives. There is a drama and romance in their magnificent performance. Free as a bird they seem, flying like a bird high in the sky.

Free yes, but the secret of their freedom, as of all freedom, is obedience, obedience to laws; laws of nature, laws of mankind, laws of mechanics.

The Air Mail has run up a glorious schedule by maintaining its schedules. In spite of well-nigh insurmountable obstacles it carries on and arrives in time. It is a wonderful example of obedience; obedience to duty as well as to orders.

Benjamin Franklin said:

"Let thy child's first lesson be obedience, and the second will be what thou wilt."

Obedience and discipline are things which we all have to learn.... Intelligence, skill - these are fine qualities

⁸² CgNSYB, 1930-31, p.78. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

⁸³ CgNSYB, 1936-37, p.7. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

to have but unless one has learned to make them obey his will, they will not do him much good. Discipline is necessary everywhere.... Often one must obey as a matter of duty when he would rather be doing something else. When he has learned to obey orders cheerfully, he is well on the road to a life full of satisfaction and usefulness.

"Everywhere the flower of obedience is intelligence. Obey a man with cordial loyalty and you will understand him." Phillips Brooks.⁸⁴

From Nunn's perspective, discipline and obedience were in the natural order of things. They were necessities, unquestionable manifestations of the teacher inventory.

CONCLUSION

A.E. Torrie remarked that *...receiving a certificate from the Normal School requires more than attendance....*⁸⁵ When he wrote this Torrie was more or less pleased that normalites had come to realize this. But, the comment itself suggests that normalites were often unwilling to exert more effort than minimally required. They quickly divined what was, and was not, necessary, and acted accordingly. Indeed, the exploration of the various normalite discourses within the normal school adequately demonstrates that many teachers in training did not necessarily meet the demands of which Torrie had in mind; normalites did not simply capitulate to the exercise of power.

Normalites were aware of the situation in which they found themselves, of the nuances of an environment characterized by a presence of power which sought to reconstruct their identity. As the normalite who wrote under the pseudonym Philosophia reflected, *Yet, while there*

⁸⁴ CgNSYB, 1932-33, p.41. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

⁸⁵ NSAR, 1924, p.44.

*is life there is hope, and we have managed to pass through the mill somehow.*⁸⁶ Within the milieu of the institution, normalites acted; they participated in the game of power, bending where necessary and thus rarely breaking.

Some normalites were undoubtedly swept along, unreflectively, in the process of teacher training and acted as required, while others likely considered the teaching certificate sufficient recompense to allow themselves to be swept along.⁸⁷ Others, however, resisted and sought to create their own spaces within the normal school. Occasionally resistance was a conscious strategy, as in the case of normalite Phyllis McCallum. Or, it might

⁸⁶ CgNSYB, 1929-30, p.13. NSF, PAA 84.484-1.

⁸⁷ In this context, a survey of normalites at the Camrose Normal School is of interest. G.K. Haverstock queried the 1929-30 class:

*...how many...intend to make teaching their life work;
how many do not intend to make teaching their life work;
how long do they expect to teach, and what they are going
to do after they stop teaching.*

*Distribution of 195 students on the basis of their
replies to the question as to whether they expect to make
teaching their life work is as follows:*

<i>Reply</i>	<i># of Students</i>	<i>% of Students</i>
<i>Yes</i>	<i>76</i>	<i>38</i>
<i>No</i>	<i>77</i>	<i>39</i>
<i>Undecided</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>23</i>

*Of the 77 students who do not plan to make teaching
their life work, 60 per cent plan to teach six years, 35
per cent less than six years and 5 per cent more than six
years.*

*A total of twenty-eight different occupations was
given, indicating what occupations would be followed after
they were through teaching. NSAR, 1929, p.29.*

One must consider the impact of the fact that in excess of fifty percent of normalites were considering teaching as merely a career step. Did the attitude connected with this outlook make normalites more or less likely to conform to institutional norms? In the absence of dedication to the profession and a career within it, probably less likely, and more ready to resist.

have been a spontaneous act, such as going to a movie when an assignment was due. The planning involved in resistance, however, is less important than the act itself; it is in such action and the awareness which is its necessary companion, that the inmate was able to reassert his or her subjectiveness. The resisting normalite become an individual who acted, rather than an object acted upon; this action was a manifestation of their own power. To a considerable extent, normalites who chose such a course of action were able to influence, and to some degree, author their own teacher training experiences.

In a discussion rooted in the exploration of the normalite voice, it is appropriate to conclude with a self-asserting poem by Velma Matheson, entitled **A Grade One's Impression of a Normalite.**

*Oh! to be a normalite,
full of life, and always bright:
Not too much of anything to do -
Just sit around and not say boo.*

*From room to room in groups they go,
Tripping lightly on each toe
Lest us from working they should distract,
And yet, I know it for a fact,
Some Normalites have worried looks.
I guess it must be all those books
I see them carry home at night
And back again each morning bright.*

*I've thought about it, and now I see
That I want to be just plain ME.⁸⁸*

This chapter suggests that many normalites shared Matheson's sentiment.

⁸⁸ CmNSYB, 1931-32, p.32. NSF, PAA 84.484-2.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION: TRANSFORMATIONINTRODUCTION

This study has provided an institutional critique of the Alberta normal schools. To achieve this, both a theory of disciplinary power, and a method of deconstructive reconstruction were utilized. To conclude the work, the reader is presented with a brief summary of both the theory and the method, and of the findings which emerged when they were applied to the normal schools. In addition, further avenues of possible study are suggested. The chapter ends with some reflections on the implications of the study both for present day practices of teacher education, and, perhaps most importantly, for my understanding of the education of teachers.

THE STUDY

Disciplinary power is a nebulous concept. It refers to a context and a process: it is the condition within which modern society exists, and it is the cluster of forces which operate on the individual within that environment. The condition of modern life is one which promotes the individual's docility and utility. Forces are exercised on the individual in an attempt to structure his or her actions, so that they promote the efficiency in which docility and utility culminate. Through this process, one which seeks to remove disruptive tendencies on the part of the individual (those actions which potentially interfere with his or her efficiency) a homogeneous, disciplined society is created.

Essential to the concept of disciplinary power is the notion of the self-acting agent. For disciplinary power to

be successful, the individual must believe that his or her actions are both self-motivated and self-interested. The efficacy of disciplinary power rests in its capacity to harmonize these individual beliefs with the needs and demands of an efficient society. If this harmony is achieved, individuals will not merely need to act in the best interests of (a disciplined) society, they will want to. Disciplinary power thus produces the desiring subject.

Deconstructive reconstruction more intensively explores how this desiring subject is created. It recognizes the individual as the site of conflict in the modern world, and it investigates the forces which operate on him or her in an effort to construct identity. Deconstructive reconstruction identifies three prominent forces, and names them the tactics of exposure, dispersion and investiture. In their attack on the individual, these tactics are mobilized by a number of technologies and supporting micro-technologies.

Exposure separates the individual from his or her previous environment. It provides the physical context for the subsequent operation of the other tactics. Particularly important are the various conduits for the gaze (which operates on, and serves to reveal individuals) which are established by exposure. Dispersion enhances the individual's anxiety, and creates in him or her a state of confusion which functions to render him or her dependent, a process which reflects the objectifying tendency of the tactic. As it alienates the individual, transforms him or her into an object, and prepares for his or her identity construction, dispersion can be seen as primarily a transitional tactic. Investiture changes the individual's despair into a desire both to conform to, and indeed, to develop his or her self in terms of, the norms promoted within a disciplinary environment. This transformation

reveals the tactic as transitional, but it is also vitally incorporative, for it acts to ensure that the individual shares the norms of the disciplinary society, and is no longer alienated from his or her self.

In this study, the method of deconstructive reconstruction was applied to a disciplinary institution, a choice intensifying its analytical potential. The institution chosen was the Alberta normal school, which had the primary responsibility for training teachers in the province for almost four decades, from 1906 to 1945. The normal school was undoubtedly a disciplinary institution: it sought to create and impose a common identity on inmates, that of the teacher. An examination of the culture of the normal school, of its internal activities and mechanisms, revealed the operation of the three tactics, each enacted by a collection of technologies.

The technologies of exposure were the Normal Entrance Requirements, the rituals of separation and the internal physical and administrative architectures of the institution. The Normal Entrance Requirements tangibly separated inmates from their previous communities, and also served to homogenize the group that entered normal school. The rituals of separation functioned to amplify the differences between the institutional and external communities. The physical and administrative architectures ensured and enhanced the gaze to which inmates were subjected.

The technologies of dispersion were the external physical environment of the institution, practice teaching, and examinations. The normal schools were imposing institutions; they engendered awe, and perhaps more than a little trepidation in normalites. Practice teaching placed normalites in situations in which the only appropriate knowledge was that of the authority figure, the instructor,

thus enhancing the normalite's dependency. Examinations ensured that the normalite was constantly evaluated, resulting in his or her generally unrelenting state of anxiety.

The technologies of investiture were awards, unity, and modelling. Awards proliferated in the normal school; they were powerful incentives to master institutional norms. Unity, both between contemporary normalites, and the entire normalite community (including those of the past and of the future), intensified the normalite's responsibility: he or she had to act in ways that would not jeopardize the success of fellow normalites or the honour of the tradition to which they all belonged. Normal school instructors regularly modelled appropriate behaviours and attitudes, thus presenting a relatively constant image of the identity normalites should seek to share.

Perhaps the most important part of the study is the critique of the operation of institutional power, the exploration of normalite discourses which indicated that disciplinary power was not always successful. The critique made it quite apparent that many normalites sought to influence their normal school experience despite efforts by institutional authorities at dictation and direction. Some normalites simply refused to surrender to the imperatives of disciplinary power; those resistances indicate to observers that disciplinary power need not be victorious, that even within the close and demanding atmosphere of a disciplinary institution, individual actions can, to a considerable extent, be authored by the individual.

LIMITATIONS AND FURTHER STUDY

After reflecting on the study, at least two

limitations have emerged, both of which suggest further consideration. First, the study does not, as I initially anticipated it would, give a concise description of the teacher identity which normalites possessed at the end of their institutional experience. Second, it is difficult, indeed often impossible, to know the reason for a normalite's decision to conform to institutional norms: did such action necessarily represent the success of power? Both these issues are inviting as opportunities for additional research.¹ And, while I do not perceive it to be a limitation, the historical methodology utilized in this study could undoubtedly be expanded upon.

Deconstructive reconstruction is quite effective in explaining the 'how' of identity formation, and an examination of its theoretical underpinnings also quite adequately suggests the 'why' of that process. However, it appears somewhat limited in its ability to reveal fully the reconstructed identity, the one with which the inmate emerged at the end of his or her institutional experience. Is the poor illumination of this reconstructed identity endemic to the method, or was it the result of choices I made in my use of it? If I had examined different technologies, textbooks or the content of examinations, for example, would the study have culminated in a greater (or different) understanding of the teacher identity?

As a route for subsequent research, the scholar might seek out other technologies exercised within the normal

¹ There are certainly other areas appropriate for further research. The model could fruitfully be applied to other disciplinary institutions. In the realm of education, one could examine, for example, the school. It might be even more effective in an exploration of separate or private schools, where one might assume there existed more intense controlling and identity forming influences than in the public system.

school, thereby piecing together a more rounded picture of the teacher who ultimately emerged from the institution.

Perhaps the central question in an analysis of disciplinary power is that one which queries why individuals act as they do. It is certainly the most difficult to answer, particularly if the action is not an obvious form of resistance. Take, for example, the case of a normalite whose actions demonstrate that he or she sought to master institutional norms. Does this indicate his or her capitulation (and the victory of disciplinary power), or does it represent a strategy on his or her part (a route perhaps chosen because the normalite recognized conformity as merely a short-term sacrifice, deemed necessary to achieve his or her teaching certificate)? While the method of deconstructive reconstruction presents plausible reasons for normalite action, unless the normalite revealed the rationale for his or her action (and sometimes they did), the investigator is ultimately left in the realm of plausibility.

Plausibility might give way to greater certainty with further investigation. Particularly appropriate could be the use of oral history. By interviewing normalites, their motivation might be more accurately discovered. Or, the scholar may choose to explore the subsequent teaching careers of normalites. Was the teacher identity forged within the normal school subsequently maintained? If this answer is "yes," then it may be more confidently asserted that the exercise of disciplinary power was successful.

The historical methodology utilized in this study is somewhat different from that of many more traditional historical efforts, where theory is often down-played, and primary sources and the historian's interpretation are generally woven together in a seamless narrative. My use of theory in the study has resulted in a more penetrating

analysis than a chronological narrative would have allowed. It is an analysis which has been instrumental in changing my understanding of teacher education.² I also chose to highlight the difference between primary material and my interpretation of it, just as I presented a great deal of the former material to the reader. The value of this approach depends ultimately upon its impact on the reader. Hopefully, the choices will have achieved their generally disruptive purpose: to encourage the reader to consider the connection between the historical document and the historian's interpretation of it. I am optimistic that this consideration will lead the reader into reflection on the relationship of power which permeates the pursuit of history.

The nature of history and historical objectivity have been explored in considerable detail by many individuals. However, that exploration has usually not been taken in an effort to investigate the authority with which the discipline endows the historian, and how he or she makes use of the power that flows from that authority. While these issues have been tangential to this study, they are totally appropriate for further analysis.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHER EDUCATION

The Alberta normal schools promoted a particular regime of truth. Its authority was rooted in an understanding of teacher training characterized primarily by mastery of pre-determined methods and techniques. Normal school instructors possessed the knowledges which informed those proper teaching methods and techniques. Normalites

² I elaborate on this transformation in the last section of this chapter.

were expected to grasp and accept such knowledges and incorporate them into their teaching identity. It was an identity which did not allow for divergent understandings of either education or the role of the teacher: monolithic, the identity was appropriate for all who would teach. The normal school experience revolved largely around expectations that normalites would define themselves in terms of what others believed to be desirable and necessary teacher characteristics. Normalite input was marginalized, silenced, negated.

As indicated in the study, normalites often resisted this stifling technicist regime. Many struggled against the processes which sought to structure their identity. That normalites did not, evidently, express alternative perspectives on the nature or the function of the teacher should perhaps not be surprising. They were not given the opportunity to explore alternatives; they were not made aware of the possibility of different understandings of teaching. Perhaps it was for this reason that normalites struck out in what some might perceive as meaningless, or at least superficial, acts of resistance: late assignments, skipping class, day-dreaming. The authority invested in the normal schools, and the idea of the teacher promoted by and within the institutions, was so expansive it covered and filled all spaces, all other potential views of the teacher. There was simply no room to consider, to dream of alternatives.

Need it be that way?

As the twentieth-first century draws nearer, signposts have emerged which suggest that the regime of truth which characterized the normal school has been fractured.³ A most

³ In this context it may be well to note the apparent desire of some to return to the technicist (and, as this

prominent indicator of its collapse (not, however, its disappearance) is the recent emergence of an approach to teacher education generally referred to as critical reflection. At this point in the development of the concept of critical reflection any discussion of it is somewhat problematic, for it has stubbornly resisted efforts at definition. For example, in an article analyzing attempts at the University of Alberta to adapt teacher preparation practices to a program characterized by, infused with, critical reflection, Hess and Short note that "within the literature there are at least four different meanings of the term."⁴ If this diversity in understanding reflects multiple awarenesses (and thus possibilities) and not merely confusion, then it is demonstrably desirable. As Carson notes,

The difficulty for teacher education has been trying to deal with the ambiguities of reflective practice as a concept. The first impulse is to want to clear up these ambiguities, to give it definitional shape in order to mold it into teacher education curricula. Such an impulse is to be resisted,

study suggests, intimidating and inherently reproductive) model promoted within the normal schools. See, for example, the directive document of the University of Alberta, Quality First (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1994).

⁴ Indeed, the authors conclude that among the teacher educators participating in the program, "there was a fair degree of variability in thinking about the reflective teaching model [but] there was also a degree of unanimity." Gretchen Hess and Robert Short, "The Reflective Teaching Model: What does the Term 'Reflective Teaching' Mean?" Crossroads and Horizons in Teacher Education in Proceedings of the Westcast 1992 Conference (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1993), p.179, 199. For more information on the program, and a further description of the idea of critical reflection which informs it, see Faculty of Education Strategic Planning Project, Exploring and Mapping the Future: A Focus on Priority Issues (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1989).

for if we are to understand reflective practice in a way that is consistent with the idea then its meaning will continue to unfold through our own thoughtful work as teacher educators.⁵

Implicit in the idea of critical reflection, then, is that it resist universalizing invitations and efforts, that it largely emerge for each from within the context of their teaching -- and teacher education -- experiences. That noted, some brief commentary on the concept is appropriate.

Critical reflection acts to dislodge the very roots of the understanding of teacher preparation which informed the normal schools. The notion of an external authority which might be a font of universally applicable knowledge is abandoned. It is replaced by a view of knowledge which sees knowledge as a process, a creation of individuals who are continuously in the act of making sense of their environment, of constructing their understanding of, and relationship with, the world. And, "world" must be considered not as a stagnant physical milieu, but in its richer, historical sense: including not only *what is* but how it *so became* and how it *will become*. Thus, critical reflection is inherently about tradition and about hope and how those relate to the individual and his or her relationship with community.

Paulo Freire writes that "The starting point for organizing the program content of education...must be the present, existential, concrete situation, reflecting the

⁵ Terrance Carson, "Does Reflective Practice Reconceptualize Teacher Education?" in Changing Times for Teacher Education: Restructuring or Reconceptualizing, eds. Marvin Wideen and Peter Grimmer (London: Falmer Press, 1995), pp.1-2.

aspirations of the people."⁶ It is an insight which might well inform any discussion of contemporary practices of teacher education. Freire raises three concerns which the teacher educator must address. First is the importance of the present, concrete situation. Fundamental to any educational program must be an understanding of where the participants are at the moment in question. Such awareness promotes and encourages a different and critical approach to reality. It is a necessary precursor, and thus integral, to action: the individual can act upon that knowledge, can *choose how* he or she wants to act upon it. Such an approach gives the individual the power to reject the imposition of others, to say definitely and firmly "no" to another's understanding of what is real and necessary, to affirm one's personal understandings. In so doing, each is engaged in the process of constructing one's own reality, in this case the teaching reality which will inform the individual's identity.

Second are the existential implications of education. An existential approach challenges the individual as a chooser, as one who is primarily responsible for the direction and construction of identity. It also recognizes the communal nature of existence, the profoundly unitary relationship between self and other which exists at the heart of that process. Existentially speaking, it is a relationship which must be characterized by respect, by an effort not to turn the other into an object which exists only for the self. The student teacher does not exist for the teacher educator; nor does the teacher educator exist for the student teacher. As Carson suggests, "It means

⁶ Paulo Friere, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, trans. Myra B. Ramos (reprint ed., New York: Continuum, 1989), p.85.

accepting one's vulnerability."⁷ In the liberating absence of confining predeterminations, the direction of the relationship must be allowed to develop as it unfolds. Existential existence is nothing if not terrifying...and invigorating.

Third are the aspirations of the people, in this case the student teachers. The imposition of an idea of teacher on them which fails to take recognition of their respective images of teacherness, of how those images were formed, and how they will inform their future teaching identity, is simply inadequate. At best, it reflects the uncurbed technicist and universalizing approach of the normal schools.

However, just as the authority of method and technique dominated the normal school, it must be ensured that unbridled subjectivism, undoubtedly one possible manifestation of critical reflection, does not reign supreme in the teacher education of today and tomorrow. Such an end potentially introduces new relationships of power which may be used effectively to construct identity. For example, individual traditions which critical reflection seeks to explore may be manipulated in an effort to create what teacher educators, or policy makers, or school administrators envision as a desirable and shared tradition...and yet, because it is an imposed one, necessarily a false one. As I have suggested earlier in this study, one of the greatest dangers of history is that it be used to create such shared traditions, rooted as they are in the dehumanizing notion of the individual as an unreflective object to be acted upon. At the very least it is a process which might well lead to efforts to subdue the

⁷ Carson, "Does Reflective Practice Reconceptualize Teacher Education?", p.17.

present, to manipulate the future.

It would also be inappropriate to suggest that teacher education not engage in instruction in method and technique. Presumably, after more than a century of public education, some activities have been learned which promote the efficacy of teaching. These cannot necessarily be found within the individual, within the traditions which have formed him or her. They come from the knowledge and experience of the instructor, and can be appropriately shared with student teachers in a communal fashion. It would be extremely wasteful of time and resources, as John Dewey pointed out years ago, to expect the student teacher to recreate these knowledges through his or her experiences.⁸ Indeed, it would go far towards nullifying at least one of the needs for education. And, for the teacher educator to abandon it would be for him or her to flirt with irresponsibility, and potentially, abdication.

Perhaps we should not envision teacher education as an *binary* dichotomy: *either* the technicist normal school approach rooted in a notion of the normalite as *object*, *or* the reflective teacher education approach rooted in a notion of student teacher as *subject*. As participants in a worldly, and therefore communal, existence, it is difficult, arguably impossible, to escape either our being as both object and subject. Forces act upon us, just as we try to understand and deal with those forces. I believe, however, that our "subjecthood" should be enhanced. This should be the aim of education broadly, and teacher education specifically. Education should raise our awareness of the forces that have come to shape our understandings of ourselves and our world, so that we may

⁸ See, for example, his Experience and Education (1938; reprint ed., New York: Macmillan, 1963).

more effectively create our own identities. In that way, we might, as Peter McLaren has suggested, construct "an arch of social dreaming and a doorway to hope."⁹ Such educational practices can liberate us from confining traditions, and in so doing re-establish the possible multiplicities which should stretch out before us all. Education which does less than that is a narrow and dangerous concept indeed.

IMPLICATIONS FOR MY UNDERSTANDING OF TEACHER EDUCATION

The study of history is always an affair
of the living present.

Van Cleve Morris¹⁰

...the achievements of the past provide
the only means at command for understanding
the present.... [It is necessary] to make
acquaintance with the past a *means* of
understanding the present.

John Dewey¹¹

Time brings all things to my mind.

Foster and Allen¹²

I would like to end this study by briefly exploring
how it has affected me. Its personal significance emerged
as I reflected on a collection of rather disparate

⁹ Peter McLaren, "Critical Pedagogy: Constructing an Arch of Social Dreaming and a Doorway to Hope." Journal of Education 173, #1 (1991).

¹⁰ Van Cleve Morris, Existentialism in Education: What It Means (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc., 1966), p.142.

¹¹ John Dewey, Experience and Education (1938; reprint ed., New York: Macmillan, 1963), pp.77-8. The emphasis is Dewey's.

¹² This line is taken from a song entitled "Bunch of Thyme", to be found on the *Green Velvet* album.

concerns. Those concerns therefore necessitate some investigation.

As I explored the resisting discourses of the normalites, the voices which transformed them from objects upon which power operated, to subjects seeking to influence their own teacher training experiences, I became increasingly troubled by a certain incongruity between disciplinary power and the discipline of history. Deconstructive reconstruction demonstrated the process of objectification which occurs during the exercise of disciplinary power. It is a process rightly condemned. However, if historical study is considered, it becomes evident that a comparable process is in operation. Historical inquiry tends to render the subject of study, past humanity, an object. History generally operates to change once proactive individuals into objects, a result achieved primarily by means of the historian's gaze, via his or her ability to see into the lives of those who lived in the past. The danger of historical inquiry thus emerges: does the historian consider those individuals of study as objects in/for his or her historical study, as mere means?

In my study, by seeking to expose as much about normalites as possible from documentary sources, I was exercising a fundamental technology of deconstructive reconstruction. Was I not, to some extent, rendering them objects through my use of power? Was this the necessary outcome?

While pondering this, I was also considering the degree to which I should address the implications of my study for contemporary practices of teacher education. From the perspective of one my co-supervisors, this was the crux of the whole exercise: how does the study inform us as teacher educators? Upon reflection, I came to realize that my understanding of the discipline of history also demanded

that the question be explored. I did not want my study to merely comment on the past only to be subsequently relegated to the bookshelf; in some way I had to demonstrate its value to contemporary practices of teacher education.¹³

I was faced, then, with two questions. First, how was I to ensure that I did not turn normalites into objects, things which merely served to support or disrupt my study? Second, how was my study of value to present day teacher educators? I came to realize that the answers dovetailed: the answer to the first directly influenced how I came to perceive and respond to the second.

To ensure that normalites were not demeaned and banished to the status of object, I had to allow them to emerge as subjects, as the discourse explored in the last chapter unequivocally demonstrates they were. In other words, I had to let normalites act upon me, to, potentially, change me: I had to become subject to their individuality.¹⁴ By change, I do not have a parochial concept in mind, as in the often unmanifested alterations of thought or perception. I am referring to the emergence of a new personal philosophy, one which necessitates renewed and different action for completion. In this way the past, and the individuals who constituted it, can directly influence my practices. It was thus necessary to encounter those individuals not as objects of my study, but as subjects with whom I could seek a personal engagement.

¹³ Of course, I have more or less demonstrated this earlier in this chapter.

¹⁴ It was not until I reached this conclusion that I realized how truly important the exploration of normalite discourse was to this study. Not only did it remove deterministic outcomes, it allowed the normalite individuality to emerge.

In searching for a practical and contemporary value for my study I was ultimately drawn to this personal engagement. The study demonstrates that despite authoritarian efforts to dictate and control, normalites created their own spaces within the normal school, that to some considerable extent they attempted to define their own teacher training experiences. As teacher educators, we might take seriously this reality. In the face of efforts to structure teacher education, to predetermine the identity of the teacher who will ultimately emerge, it is likely, indeed highly probable, that student teachers will resist; they will seek to author their own experiences, to come to their own conclusions regarding what is implied by teaching, and how they should come to be teachers.

Might the processes of teacher education not be more rewarding, more valuable, to all participants, if student teachers were given the opportunity from the beginning of their preparation to influence and determine aspects of that experience? Might such space and encouragement allow student teachers to theorize about their own experiences, their own images of teacherness? Such reflection may lead to a more critical, and enriched, understanding of being a teacher.¹⁵ Rather than structure actions, it might be more appropriate to allow student teachers to explore how education seeks to structure those actions. This would be particularly important if, as a long-serving teacher once told me, the essence of teaching is its unpredictability. Teacher education (and, indeed, teaching) should not, cannot, be about providing pre-packaged answers, particularly in the form of structured actions; it must be

¹⁵ Deborah Britzman addresses this point in Practice Makes Practice: A Critical Study of Learning to Teach (New York: State University of New York Press, 1991), pp.48-9.

about exploring possibilities, and providing the tools for that exploration.

The reader might agree with this conclusion yet still not comprehend the value of history in understanding teacher education. Herein lies the rationale for the quotations which opened this section. Historical understanding necessarily addresses our contemporary needs, an end achieved primarily through its greatest asset: perspective. The study demonstrates that normalite resistance to the structuring imperative of institutional power was not uncommon. If I went to a faculty of education at a university today and investigated this same issue via the same method, I might well discover numerous resistances, both by individuals and groups. However, what I could not know from a study initiated today is the impact of those resistances. An historical study brings both the actions and the consequences within easy reach. The aftermath of normalite resistance within the normal school was, by far, extremely limited. The vast majority of normalites -- those who resisted, and those who did not -- still received their teaching certificate.¹⁶ This knowledge

¹⁶ This assertion is based on a statistical analysis of twenty-nine academic years, randomly chosen, at the three normal schools. In those twenty-nine years, 133 normalites either failed or withdrew. This represents an average of 4.6 normalites per year. Over the same period, 5,699 normalites attended normal school, which represents a failure/withdrawal rate of 2.3% a year. It must also be kept in mind that withdrawals included those who left for medical cause. The failure/withdrawal data does not include third class certificates, for although those who were granted such a certificate failed in some respect, they still received a certificate (which was, after all, the goal of the normalite). See NSAR 1911, p.42; 1912, pp.39-40, 43; 1913, p.35; 1920-21, pp.36, 44, 48; 1921-22, p.39, 48, 51; 1929-30, pp.25, 26, 29; 1930-31, pp.27, 28, 20; 1931-32, pp.28-30; 1932-33, pp.26, 27, 29; 1933-34, pp.27, 29; 1934-35, pp.29, 30; 1937-38, p.23.

is empowering for student teachers of today: it creates for them an awareness of choice. With greater confidence they can seek to author their own teacher training experiences.

Knowing that teachers in training negotiate rather than submit to the demands of teacher training is, or should be, sobering for teacher educators. The knowledge will have an impact on the manner in which I educate teachers, for it has changed the way in which I understand teacher education. A one-way process in which I attempt to direct the experiences of teacher preparation is woefully inadequate. Students want to influence the direction of their teacher education experiences, and I have to allow for that. It is difficult, for it means my relinquishing some power. But I think such a process will undoubtedly enhance the quality of the teacher, for it intensifies the student teacher's responsibility for his or her choices and actions. By ensuring that the normalites of the first half of the twentieth century emerged as proactive subjects in my study, I have a new, and richer, understanding of teacher preparation. Their resistances have enhanced my awareness. For me, this historical study, rooted in a theoretical analysis, has been transformative.

Perhaps historians and teacher educators should seriously consider this personal effect. History can have a ready and definite, positive and emancipatory impact upon the present; I would argue that its value lies therein. And, the education of teachers demands that they be encountered as individuals who desire to influence the construction of their identity, and not as objects without input.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX INORMAL SCHOOL PRINCIPALS
1906-1942*

<u>Principal</u>	<u>Normal School</u>	<u>Years</u>
G.J. Bryan	Calgary	1906 to 1908
W.H. Thompson	Calgary	1909
E.W. Coffin	Calgary	1910 to 1911 (Acting)
		1912 to 1940
W.H. Swift	Calgary	1940 to 1942
**		**
J.C. Miller	Camrose	1912 to 1913
		1914 (Acting)
G.F. McNally	Camrose	1914 to 1917
W.A. Stickle	Camrose	1918 to 1923
A.E. Torrie	Camrose	1923 to 1927
G.K. Haverstock	Camrose	1928 to 1938
**		**
C. Sansom	Edmonton	1921 (Acting)
		1922
G.S. Lord	Edmonton	1928 to 1933
		1935 to 1942

* Taken from NSAR, 1906-1942.

APPENDIX IISUMMARY OF MEDICAL WORK - ALBERTA NORMAL SCHOOL, EDMONTON.
for the year 1931-32.*

Medical examinations made September 1931	236
Students unable to complete year's work because of physical disabilities	5
Students with non-correctable orthopaedic defects	4
Students with non-correctable nervous disorders	1
Students with non-correctable defects of hearing	4
Students with functional irregularities of the heart	5
Students with no physical defects	30
Students vaccinated against smallpox	150
Students inculcated against diphtheria	120

<u>REMEDIAL DEFECTS</u>	<u>Found</u>	<u>Corrected</u>
Defective posture	59	54
Nutrition or vitality below average	34	16
Nose and Throat	27	6 (5 others to be done this summer)
Dental	94	45
Eyes	62	35
Ears	2	1
Neuritis	1	(under treatment)
Thyroid		
Feet (arch trouble)	4	3 received treatment

DETAILED REPORT OF STUDENTS LEAVING SCHOOL
BECAUSE OF PHYSICAL DISABILITIES.

Mona Casson	- Fractured skull.
Myrtle Jackson	- Fractured thigh.
Ernest Falkenberg	- Defective hearing.
Bella MacDonald	- Suspected tuberculosis.
Percy Poulin	- Nervous disorder.

1931-32

ACCIDENTS AND CAUSES OF SERIOUS ILLNESS.

2	eye accidents.
1	fractured thigh.
1	fractured skull.
1	fractured knee.
3	sprained ankles.
	Several minor sprains.
2	cases pneumonia.
4	cases influenza.
1	case gastric disorder.

Infectious diseases.

2	cases Vincent's Angina.
3	cases scabies.
3	cases impetigo.
1	case mumps.
1	case measles.
2	cases athlete's foot.
1	case suspected tuberculosis.
90	Home visits (calls on sick students and visits of inspection to boarding houses) made during year.

KATHLEEN CONNOR,
Nurse.

(COPY)

REPORT OF THE PHYSICAL EXAMINATION OF
227 PROVINCIAL NORMAL SCHOOL PUPILS
EXAMINED BETWEEN SEPT.28, 1931, AND OCT.26, 1931.*

With the institution of a more detailed physical examination record card, more defects are shown this year than last. More particularly do these pertain to posture, to the shape of the chest wall and to certain deformities of the feet. I may state that most of these defects are remedial and advice as to correction of such has been given to each pupil according to the classification of A. excellent, B. good, C. fair, D. poor has been carried out conscientiously. While only a small number were placed in Class A., yet a large number were in Class B and a considerable number in class C. Not one pupil was in class D though two of three were candidates for this class.

The general standard of physique was good and only a very small number showed organic lesions of the heart or lungs. Those who showed lesions of the heart in each instance, should be able to pursue his or her studies provided no strenuous exercise is indulged in. One student was examined, who had spent two years in a sanatorium suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis and was discharged cured. Since her discharge nearly two years ago, there has been no activity of the disease and she has maintained a good weight, and careful examination of the chest revealed no signs of this disease, only a healed area. One other pupil who spent six months in bed with "chronic bronchitis" will have to be kept under observation during the term as she is underweight. In her also there are no positive signs of active disease.

The skin lesions present were acne vulgaris, psoriasis, and eczema, and each pupil has been requested to come up for re-examination. Defective vision was present in almost one-third of pupils, and in many the defects had been properly taken care of by correct lenses. In a number, correction had been made by opticians who had not given correct lenses and the pupil's sight was still poor. In each instance the pupil had been advised to seek the advise of a physician specialist. A small number of pupils (8) showed defective hearing; only a fraction of this number showed poor hearing.

Chronic suppurative otitis media was present in three pupils, and unilateral in each instance. Each was of several years' standing.

This year the instance of septic tonsils is about the same as last year, though there is a larger number with enucleated tonsils. As septic tonsils are foci for infection whence disease may be transmitted to other parts of the body, emphasis has been made to have septic tonsils removed at the earliest possible date. With the great majority of these pupils oval [sic?] cleanliness has been found to be present, and the ritual has been carefully carried out. One or more carious teeth were found in 71 pupils; this has probably been caused by some dietetic deficiency. Pyorrhoea alvelunis was present in ten, yet in only one would the disease be called advance.

Blood pressure readings beyond 130 mm. systolic, I have classed as moderately high. Forty pupils were found to have readings at or beyond this. One pupil's systolic pressure was 160. I have made many re-examinations and have found that, in many, excitement or strenuous exercise (physical training) at or before examination has increased the pressure and on further examinations there has been a drop to normal range. In several pupils there is a clear history of antecedent renal infection while in others there is an associated diffuse toxic goitre.

Blood pressure systolic reading below 103 mm. I classed as low; in some of these pupils there is a definite vagotonia (lack of tone and vigour).

The diastolic pressure in some has been too high, in one reaching 100.

Deformed chest wall was present in 17. The majority of these were flat chested. Advice to help in the correction of this condition has been given.

Attacks of bronchial asthma were cited in the histories of two pupils; one of these may have had "hay fever" and not asthma.

Pertaining to the gastro-intestinal tract, there were twenty-six who gave histories of so called "indigestion" or constipation; the greater number were affected with constipation. One pupil on re-examination showed evidence of duodenal ulcer.

The renal disturbances were chiefly those of frequency of irritation, and some of these may be due chiefly to an irritable bladder. Not one pointed to any organic disease of the kidney.

There were no instances of organic disease of the nervous system, if I may except one who had antecent [sic?] acute poliomyelitis anterior. Headaches occurred in twenty-nine pupils and were chiefly frontal and temporal; a number have the underlying cause of eye-strain. Nervousness was stated to be present in fifteen pupils; in some of these there is a definite toxic goitre present.

In 30 pupils there is a definite diffuse non-toxic goitre, probably of the colloid type. A number of these show suspicious signs of becoming toxic and require further observations. In five, definite diffuse toxic goitre is present with marked nervousness and accelerated pulse rates, and, in a few, heightened blood pressure. These pupils will have to be re-examined once or twice a month. Physical training will have to be eliminated in this latter group.

Menstrual disturbances, chiefly dysmenorrhoea and amenorrhoea were resented in 63 pupils. Careful attention has been given to many of these cases. Poor nutrition or more correctly undernourishment was found in 62 cases. I believe that this number is larger in proportion to last year's record.

Arteriosclerosis was found in one instance, in a man of 41, and this is probably of not many years' duration.

One student with severe varicose veins of the right leg has been fitted with a firm silk-elastic stocking.

The posture of students is of considerable importance. It is faulty, it is "slouchy" when the pupil stoops, becomes round shouldered, with head bent forward. The great majority of those examined with postural defects have good chest development and only need to make efforts to remedy this defect. Scoliosis was found in only an exceedingly small number.

There were many with defects of the feet, ninety-five in all, and these occurred largely among the young women. In most instances I would score the ill-fitting, ungainly, high-heeled, unorthodox footgear, manufactured by the makers of shoes who purview to the public taste. As the years go by, many of these girls will have more troubles with their feet than at present, unless they adopt more rational, sensible shoes.

Fallen transverse arches seems to be associated with high heels and cramped toes, and accounted for most of the foot defects, together with corns and bunions. Only a few had pes planus (falling of the longitudinal arch) and none of a severe grade.

A very considerable number of the pupils have never been vaccinated, and too much stress cannot be placed on this neglect which leads them into a sense of false security. In closing, I wish to express my appreciation of the very excellent assistance given me in all of my examinations by Nurse Chittick. She assisted in many ways and gave me splendid co-operation.

(Signed) G.E. Learmonth (M.D.)

(COPY)

Statistical Report on Physical Examinations of 277 Pupils
at the Provincial Normal School, Calgary, 1931.

Boys 89

Girls 187

Physical Defects:

Skin 27 pupils

Defective vision 87

Defective hearing 8

Ear: Chronic Suppurative Otitis media 3

Earache 2

Throat: Septic Tonsils 95

Teeth: Carious 71

Gums: Pyorrhea alveolaris 10

Enlarged cervical glands 4

Goitre diffuse non-toxic 30

Goitre diffuse toxic 5

Heart Lesions:

Functional 3

Organic 3

Hypertrophied left ventricle 3

Blood pressure beyond 130, systolic, 40
below 103 systolic, 13

Chest wall Anteriorly:

Flat, funnel breasted or pigeon breasted 17

Lungs: Bronchial asthma 2

Healed tuberculosis 1

Gastro-intestinal tract: "Indigestion", constipation, 26
Kidneys, bladder 5
Overweight 1
Poor nutrition 62
Hernia inguinal 1
Varicose veins 1
Arteriosclerosis 1
Poor posture 52
Foot defects 95
Unvaccinated

Nervous System:

Headaches 29
Nervousness 15
Old anterior poliomyelitis 1
Menstrual Dysmenorrhoea -
Amenorrhoea 63

* NSF, PAA 78.92-2. Nurse Chittick, mentioned in the last paragraph of the narrative portion of the report, was also a normal school instructor at Calgary.

APPENDIX III**REPORT OF RURAL OBSERVATION
AND PRACTICE***

School Dates of Attendance
.....

CLASSIFICATION OF PUPILS

	(Division I)			(Division II)			(Division III)		
Grades	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>	<u>VII</u>	<u>VIII</u>	<u>IX</u>
Enrolled									

This is to certify that

M..... was present at my
school on the.....days of.....,
193..., and in actual charge of the school
for.....days.

.....
Teacher

To.....
Principal, Provincial Normal School,

.....
Alberta

Report on Student-Teacher's Work

DIRECTIONS TO THE TEACHER:-1. You are asked to rate the work of the student-teacher with respect to the matters mentioned in the following questions. Opposite each question you are required to place a check mark in one of the three columns headed, "Poor," "Fair," and "Good," according to your judgement.

2. At the end of the week's Observation and Practice Teaching, you are required to discuss with the student-teacher your estimate of the week's work, and to make an oral statement to the student-teacher of your suggestions for improvement.

3. You will, however, hold the report form; and after adding your suggestions, and making any changes in the report that seem advisable on second thought, you will send the report to the Principal of the Normal School concerned, using the addressed envelope marked "Confidential," that has been provided for this purpose.

4. Be sure to write fully and frankly under "General Remarks."

I.-Personal Attributes

	Poor	Fair	Good
1-Was the student's voice pleasing, easily heard and well modulated?	...	...	...
2-Did the student show cheerfulness, animation, and a sense of humor?	...	...	...
3-Was the student tactful and courteous?	...	...	...
4-Did the student show enthusiasm and energy in his work?	...	...	...
	Poor	Fair	Good
5-Was the student painstaking and conscientious in his work?	...	...	...
6-Did the student display patience and self-control in the classroom?	...	...	...
7-Did the student display firmness and self-confidence in dealing with the pupils?	...	...	...
Sub-totals			

II.-General Equipment

	Poor	Fair	Good
8-Is the student alert, and quick to adjust to changes in the classroom situation?	...	...	...
9-Is the student's speech fluid, precise, and easily understood?	...	...	...
10-Is the student's language free from non-English accent?	...	...	...
11-Is the student's language free from errors in grammar and flaws in sentence structure?	...	...	...
12-Is the student possessed of originality, initiative, and resourcefulness in teaching procedures?	...	...	...
13-Did the student plan his work, and carry through his plans successfully? (Has he good executive ability?)	...	...	...
14-Did the student appear to be well informed regarding current events?	...	...	...
15-Has the student a good stock of general information?	...	...	...
16-What grasp has the student of the content of elementary and intermediate school subjects?	...	...	...
Sub-totals			

III.-Professional Training

	Poor	Fair	Good
17-Does the student know the aims and objectives of the elementary and intermediate school programmes?	...	...	...
18-Were the student's lessons just for the classroom, or were they given a practical application for life?	...	...	...
19-Did the student relate his lessons to preceding lessons and activities?	...	...	...
20-How skilful was the student in changing his lesson procedure so that he could follow "leads" from his class?	...	...	...
21-What skill and resource has the student in initiating and directing a class discussion?	...	...	...
22-Did he keep the discussion at the pupils' level?	...	...	...
23-Did he adapt the discussion to individual differences: to the "bright" and "slow" pupils?	...	...	...
24-Did the student frame his questions skilfully and distribute them properly?	...	...	...
25-Was the student successful in getting the pupils to answer his questions freely and spontaneously, or did he have to "nag" and "drag"?	...	...	...
26-Did the student require the pupils to express their answers correctly and in good form?	...	...	...
27-Did the student show ability to criticize constructively, and to command effort?	...	...	...
28-Did the student recognize the importance of correlating the work in different subjects? (Did he make any attempt to correlate in his teaching?)	...	...	...
29-Did the students work show that he understands how to group classes and adapt a school programme to the conditions of a rural school?	...	...	...
30-Does the student appreciate the objectives of "enterprise education"?	...	...	...

Sub-totals

IV.-Classroom Mechanics and Management

	Poor	Fair	Good
31-Was the student punctual, prompt and systematic in classroom routine? (In assembly, dismissal, passing material, etc.?)	...	...	...
32-Did the student concern himself with heating, lighting, ventilation, and other such matters of classroom comfort and welfare?	...	...	...
33-Did the student give due attention to the preservation of neatness and tidiness in the classroom?	...	...	...
34-Does the student understand the nature of children?	...	...	...
35-Did the student's teaching procedures and classroom management naturally promote discipline without recourse to compulsion?	...	...	...
36-Did the student supervise the pupils' work effectively?	...	...	...
37-Was the student's blackboard work adequate, legible and well-timed?	...	...	...
38-Did the student make full use of the equipment and material available in the school?	...	...	...
Sub-totals			

V.-Results

	Poor	Fair	Good
39-Did the student have all the pupils participate in the school work?	...	...	...
40-Did he discover the pupils' difficulties?	...	...	...
41-Did the student make adequate use of "check-up" devices and "follow-up" exercises?	...	...	...
42-Did the student employ drill and review procedures effectively?	...	...	...
43-Was the student successful in arousing and sustaining the pupils' interest?	...	...	...
44-Does the students' teaching tend to foster desirable social attitudes in his pupils?	...	...	...
45-Did the pupil show skill in having the pupils assume a problem-solving attitude?	...	...	...
46-Did the student get the pupils "to think for themselves"?	...	...	...
Sub-totals			
Total Number of Checks	...	...	...

This image shows a full page of dot grid paper. The dots are arranged in a precise, repeating pattern across the entire surface, forming a grid that can be used for writing or drawing. The dots are small and dark, set against a light background.

Post Office Address.....

* NSF, PAA 78.92-1. The original document consists of two legal size pages.